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HISTORY

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GREECE.

By WILLIAM MITFORD, Efq.

THE THIRD EDITION.

VOL. I.

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THE favorable reception given by the Public to the first edition of this volume, has very much relieved the author from the apprehensions he entertained on its publication, and given him to hope that equal diligence, in the profecution of the work, will insure him a continuance of the fame indulgence. Nor ders, any imputation on account of the many small additions and corrections which he has found occasion to make in this second edition; being persuaded that a simple reference to their own knowlege of the subject and its materials will suffice for his apology. For

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ADVERTISEMENT TO THE SECOND EDITION. ADVERTISEMENT TO THE SECOND EDITION tainty, foresee the completion. A second volume, now in the preis, and intended for publication early in the intung winter, will carry the History no farther than to the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war. Whether the remainder may be comprized in two volumes, or will require three, is more than he can at prefent undertake to lay; and He should too much risk deceiving the Public, if he attempted to name a time when those volumes may be published. He will therefore only further declare, that his inclination to profecute the work will not ceafe, and ethatla continuance of fuch public favor as he has already to acknowlege, will incite him lio employ all the diligence upon it that shealth, and duties of superior claim, will moulded into the koman Empire; follweller Alexander through his conquells in the Eaft, taking a furrmary view only of the extensive regions which those conquelts gave, but under despotac rulc, to be a general home for the Greeks, and reverting to the more particular confideration of Greece itself during the Achaian league. This plan, however, he -ANCACTION as what is his with to execute, not as of what he can, with any egrtainty,

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IN the first edition in quarto of the first volume of the Grecian history, Arbuthnen's authority was ollowed, for the units of Attic denominations of money: the Drackma, fur posed by him of precisely the same value with the Roman denames; was reckoned at seven-pence three surfaces sherling; the Mina, being a hundred drackmas, the poseds four shillings and seven-pence; and the Talkin, being sixty minas, a hundred and hinery-right poseds fifteen shillings.

In the second edition, at the suggestion of a friend, who had bestowed some pains in inquiry on the subject, and in whose ability and accuracy the author had considered, an alteration was made. He held Arisuthnor right to far, that under the Roman empire the Attic duckars and the Roman denarius passed in currency one for the other; as in modern times English and French coins, both of silver and gold, have frequently passed one for the other, the the intrinsic value has not been exactly the same: but he was persuaded that the Attic drachma was really of greater value than the Roman denarius, and might be set at least at eight-pence sterling. This gave a more commensus division in English money; the fractions were available and eight-pence, and the talent exactly two based pounds.

The fecond volume of the quarto edition was already in the preis, when Barthelemi's Travels of Anacharis came into the author's hands. The experiments of the weight and value of Attic coins yet existing, which have been made by and for that learned and diligent investigator of Grecian antiquities, confirm the last mentioned which tion of the value of Attic denominations of money, for the time of the Roman empire: but they prove also that in earlier times the value of the Attic drachma was confidently greater, infomuch that, for the age of the relaponnesses war, it may be fet at ten-pence sterling. The Miss of that age will thus be four pounds three shillings and four-pence, and the Talent two hundred and fifty pounds. This calculation has been followed throughout the present edition.

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from ages long before the common use of letters in the country; yet among its earliest traditions we find many things highly in Vol. I. B

CHAP. terefting. Known at an era far beyond all history of any other part of Europe, its people nevertheless preserved report of the time when their country was uninhabited, and their forefathers lived elsewhere. Among the effects of this extreme antiquity, one is particularly remarkable: the oldest traditionary memorials of Greece relate, not to war and conquest, generally the only materials for the annals of barbarous ages, but to the invention or introduction of inftitutions the most indispensable to political society, and of arts even the most necessary to human life. Hence, while the origin of other antient nations is matter only of conjecture for the antiquarian, that of the Grecian people feems to demand fome inquiry from the historian. Indeed here, as on many other occasions, the hiftorian of Greece will have occasion to exercise his caution and forbearance, not less than his diligence, while he traverses regions where curiofity and fancy may find endless temptation to wander: but the earliest traditions of that country interest in so many ways, and through fo many means, that he would fcarcely be forgiven the omission of all consideration of the times to which they relate.

It has been not uncommon, for the purpose of investigating the properties of human nature and the progress of society, to consider MAN in a state absolutely uncultivated; full-grown, having all the powers of body and mind in mature perfection, but wholly without inftruction or information of any kind. Yet whatfoever

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advantages may be proposed from speculation SECT. upon the subject, it may well be doubted whether a human pair in fuch a flate ever really existed; and if we proceed to inquire whence they could come, the fortuitous concurrence of atoms, fancied by Democritus and Epicurus. will be found perhaps as probable an origin for them as it is possible for imagination to devise, But fince the deep refearches of modern philofophers in natural history, affisted by the extenfive discoveries of modern navigators, through the great inlargement of our acquaintance with the face of our globe, have opened fo many new fources of wonder, without affording any adequate means to arrive at the causes of the phenomena. new objections have been made to the Mosaïc history of the first ages of the world; which, it has been urged, must have been intended to relate, not to the whole earth, but to those parts only with which the Jewish people had more immediate concern. Many, however, and insuperable as the difficulties occurring in that concise historical sketch may be, some arifing from extreme antiquity of idiom, fome perhaps from injury received in multifarious transcription, and others from that allegorical ftile, always familiar and always in esteem inthe East', invention still has never been able to

form

^{*} The original and principal purpose of that allegorical stile which, whatever its advantages, or whatever its inconveniences, the wifest men of antiquity never imputed either to fraud or folly in the writer, feems well explained in few words by Macrobius:

HISTORY OF GREECE.

CHAP I. form any theory equally confistent with the principles of the most enlighted philosophy, or equally confonant to the most authentic teftimonies remaining from remotest ages, whether transmitted by human memory, or borne in the face of nature. The traditions of all nations, and appearances in every country, bear witness, scarcely less explicitly than the writings of Moses, to that general flood which nearly destroyed the whole human race; and the ablest Greek authors, who have attempted to trace the history of mankind to its fource. all refer to fuch an event for the beginning of the present system of things on earth 3. Not therefore to inquire after that state of man, wholly untaught and unconnected, which philosophers have invented for purposes of speculation; nor to attempt, which were indeed beyond our object, the tracing of things regularly to their origin through the obscure and broken path alone afforded by the Hebrew writers; the fubiect before us feems to refer more particularly, for its fource, to a remarkable fact mentioned by those writers, to which strong col-

Philosophi, si quid de his (summo Deo et mente) assignare conantur, que non sermonem tantummodo, sed cogitationem quoque humanam superant, ad similitudines & exempla confugiunt. Somn. Scip. l. i. c. 2. This subject is learnedly treated in the second volume of Bishop Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses, and ingeniously commented upon in Governor Pownall's Treatise on the Study of Antiquities.

2 See Pownall's Treatife, p. 130.

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3 See particularly the beginning of Plato's third Dialogue on Legislation.

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lateral testimony is found, both in the oldest SECT. heathen authors, and in the known course of human affairs. Mankind, according to the Genefis, c. most antient of historians, considerably inform- 10. & 11. ed and polished, but inhabiting yet only a small portion of the earth, was inspired generally with a spirit of migration. What gave at the time peculiar energy to that spirit, which feems always to have existed extensively among men, commentators have indeed, with bold abfurdity, undertaken to explain; but the historian himfelf has evidently intended only general, and that now become obscure information. All history, however, proves that such a spirit has operated over the far greater part of the globe; and we know that it has never yet ceased to actuaté, in a greater or less degree, a large portion of mankind; among whom the numberless hords yet wandering over the immense continent, from the north of European Turkey to the north of China, are remarkable. The Mofaic writings then, the general tenor of tradition preserved by heathen authors', and the

n

^{4 4} The schemes that men of warm imagination have raised from a fingle expression in the Bible, and sometimes from the fupposition of a fact no-where to be found, are astonishing. If you believe the Hebrew doctors, the language of men, which till that time (the building of Babel) had been one, was divided into seventy languages. But of the miraculous division of anguages there is not one word in the Bible.' Differtation on the Origin of Languages, by Dr. Gregory Sharpe, fecond ed. p. 24, where are some judicious observations on the Mosaic account of the dispersion of mankind.

⁵ This has been largely collected by Mr. Bryant, in his Analysis of Antient Mythology.

CHAP. most authentic testimonies, of every kind, of the state of things in the early ages; vestiges of art and monuments of barbarism, the unknown origin of the most abstrufe sciences, and their known transmission from nation to nation; all combine to indicate the preservation of civility and knowlege, under favor of particular circumstances, among a small part of mankind : while the rest, amid innumerable migrations, degenerated into barbarians and favages.

Herodot. 1.1. c. 193. Strab. I. 16.

The provinces bordering upon the river Euphrates, supposed by many to have been the first settled after the flood, were certainly among the first that became populous. Here, from the climate, the wants of man are comparatively few; and those plentifully supplied, by a soil of exuberant fertility, level to a vast extent, naturally unincumbered with wood, and confequently little exposed to depredation from beafts of prey 6. The families remaining in this country were not likely foon to lofe the civility, the arts, and the science of their forefathers. Accordingly, whether they retained, or whether they invented, aftronomy and dialling existed among the Babylonians at a period beyond all means of investigating their rife; and not withflanding the deep obscurity in which the origin of letters is involved, we still can trace every

Herodot. 1. 2. 109.

known

The geography of this country has been investigated, and Herodotus' account of it confirmed, by the diligence and accurate judgement of Mr. Gibbon, in his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

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known alphabet to the neighbourhood at least SECT of men. Seitner appears to havenolydag lo

Of the families who went in quest of new fertlements, or who wandered, perhaps many of them, without any decided intention of fettling, those who took possession of Egypt seem to have been the most fortunate. That fingular country, given, by its fituation among deferts, to injoy more than infular fecurity, offered, in wonderful abundance, the necessaries of life. Its periodical floods, which, to the unexperienced, might appear ministers only of desolation, would be known, by those who had feen the Euphrates or Tigris periodically overflow their banks, to be among the most precious boons of nature. For, from the operation of the waters of the Nile, almost the whole of that properly called Egypt, receives a kind of tillage, as well as a very rich manuring; fo that, befide produ- Diodor. cing spontaneously a profusion of herbs and Sic. l. r.c. roots, nearly peculiar to itself, which form a & so. coarse but wholesome food, it is moreover very advantageously prepared by the hand of nature almost alone, for the reception of any grain that man may throw into it. Thus invited, the occupants of Egypt gave their attention to agriculture: and as the fertility of the foil made the returns prodigiously great, populousness quickly followed abundance; polity became necessary; and we are told that in this country was conflituted the first regular government: by which feems to be meant, the first government in which various rights, and various functions,

Herod. I. 2. c. 109 Diod. l. 1.

c. 81. Strab. 1.

16. p.

757; & 787.

CHAP, tions, were regularly affigned to different ranks of men. Science appears to have originated in Afia. Of the arts, especially those more immediately affecting the well-being of numerous focieties, Egypt was probably the mother of many, as the was certainly the nurse of most. Geometry is faid to have been the offspring of the peculiar necessity of the country; for the annual overflowings of the Nile obliterating ordinary landmarks, that science alone could ascertain the boundaries of property.

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The fingularly daring and unfeeling hardinefs, attributed, by the Roman lyrift, to the man who first committed himself in a frail bark to the winds and waves, appears by no means necessary for the origin of navigation. In fo warm a climate as the middle of Asia, bathing would be a common refreshment and recreation; and the art of fwimming, especially when fo many terrestrial animals were seen to swim untaught, could not be long in acquiring. The first attempt at the management of a boat was thus deprived of all terror: and as it could not escape observation that wood floated naturally, and that the largest bodies floating were easily moved, the construction and use of canoos required no great stretch of invention. Every circumstance therefore leads to suppose, that veffels of that fimple contrivance were employed on rivers before the first emigrations took place. The occupants of Phenicia, coming to the coast of the Mediterranean with these slen-

7 Called by the Greeks Monfeula,

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der rudiments of naval knowlege, would find many inducements to attempt the improvement of the art. Their country, little fruitful in corn, but abounding with the finest timber, had a ready communication by sea and the mouths of the Nile with Egypt; which, with all its fertility, being almost confined to the production of annual plants, had occasion for many things that Phenicia could supply. Thus arose commerce.

Not then to extend inquiry to those remote and inhospitable, the polished regions of the East, whose history is known only from writings without an alphabet, and where the fludy of a long life fcarcely fuffices for learning to read; nor to hazard any decision concerning the mysterious claims of a people, something less remote, and who appear to have enjoyed early the use of letters, but whose riches and whose weakness have conspired to expose them, from times beyond certain tradition, to continual revolutions, and constant subjugation; among the inhabitants of the earth, westward at least of the Indus, the Assyrians, and the Egyptians, with the people of the countries immediately about or between them, feem alone never to have funk into utter barbarism. Affyria was a powerful empire, Egypt a most populous country governed by a very refined polity, and Sidon an opulent city, abounding with manufactures and carrying on extensive commerce, when the Greeks, ignorant of the most obvious and necessary arts, are said to have

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CHAP, have fed upon acorns'. Yet was Greece the ififf country of Europe that emerged from the favage state; and this advantage it seems to have owed intirely to its readier means of communication with the civilized nations of the Eaft: min wishing more than stor saying

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\$ Some writers, confining their ideas to the acorn of the English oak, have expressed a doubt if it were a food on which men could subsist. But it is to be observed, that acorn, glans, Baharos, have been used in their several languages as general terms, denoting all the various fruits of the acorn and mast kind. Our old herbalist Gerard, after Galen and Pliny, reckons chefnuts among acorns, and Xenophon calls dates Bahan var pointer, palmacorns, (Anab. l. 2. c. 3. fec. 9.) That the acorn or mast of a tree common in Greece would afford a wholesome nourishment for men, and yet that, in civilized times, it was not a very favorite food, we may learn from a passage in Plato's republic, where Socrates, fpecifying the diet to which he would confine his citizens, proposes to allow them puela and prode, myrtle-berries, and mast or acorns; to which Glaucon replies, 'If you were establishing a colony of swine, what other food would you give " them?' (Plat. de repub. l. 2. p. 372. t. 2. ed Serran.) Paufanias informs us that acorns continued long to be a common food of the Arcadians; not however, he fays, the acorns of all oaks, win down marin, but only of that called fagus, payos, (Pausan. l. 8. c. 1. p. 599.) Pliny also bears testimony to the Superior merit of the acorn of the fagus, dulcissima omnium glans fagi; probably having the indigenous trees of Italy only then in his contemplation; for chefnuts, he tells us, were not fuch, having been imported from Lydia. (Hift. Nat. l. 15. c: 3.) to be ascertained. I have never heard or red of acorns used as food for men in modern I taly; but in Spain, according to a living traveller of diligent inquiry and undoubted veracity, the peafants of the mountains on the confines of Catalonia and Valencia live most part of the year upon roasted acorns of the evergreen oak; a food which, he adds, he and his fellow-traveller, fir Thomas Gascoyne, ' found surprizingly savory and palatable, "the not very nourishing;" (Swinburne's Travels through Spain, 2459 letter

The migrating hords mostly found countries SECTO overgrown with wood, and inhabited only by beafts. Hunting was their ready resource for a livelihood: arms their first necessaries; their life was thus spent in action: they spred far: had few neighbours; and, with those few, little intercourse. Such people were inevitably

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letter II. p. 85.) And in the account of a still later journey through Spain, the following testimony occurs: 4 For the first two leagues (in the way from Salamanca to Alba) we ascended gradually; then entered a forest of ilex, which, as my guide informed me, stretches east and west near forty leagues. The acorns here are of the kind described by Horace, as the origin of war among the rude inhabitants of an infant world, 'glandem atque cubilia propter; not auftere, like those of the oak for of the common ilex, but sweet and palatable, like the chefnut; they are food, not merely for swine, but for the peasants, and yield confiderable profit.' Townsend's journey through Spain, p. 41. V. 2.

I cannot help observing here, that Casar has been very arrogantly criticized for afferting that the fagus, and even for afferting that the abies was not in his time found in Britain; and, on the other hand, it has been abfurdly enough contended, on his authority, that the beech is not indigenous in our island. It appears abundantly evident that the tree called payor, fagus, by Plato, Pausanias, and Pliny, was not the beech: Abete is the modern Italian name for the filver-fir; and we may reasonably believe that neither the filver-fir, nor that kind of evergreen oak which bears the fweet acorn, was in Cæfar's time to be found in

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A very few years ago, when the foregoing remarks were written, a kind of rage had been gaining over Europe for historical scepticism and historical invention; for overthrowing whatever accounts of early times have been transmitted on best authority, and imagining new schemes of antient history. Whatever check those deeply-interesting circumstances which have turned the attention of all minds from old history to new polities may have given to fuch fancies, I am still desirous to vindicate the just credit of fuch a writer as Cæfar, the on a matter in itself so little important. esti behittini ni mutahari iri

barbarous:

CHAP. barbarous: but they would, much fooner than more civilized people, give inhabitants to every part of the globe. Those who came to the western coast of Asia Minor would have many inducements to cross to the adjacent islands. Security from favage beafts, and men as favage, would be the first solitude of families; and this those islands would feem to promife in a greater degree than the continent. Other islands appearing beyond these, and bewond those again still others, navigation would here be almost a natural employment. The fame inducements would extend to the coafts of the continent of Greece, indented as it is with gulphs, and divided into peninfulas. But Greece was very early known to the Egyptian and Phenician navigators; perhaps foon after its first population; and as no part of it was very distant from the sea, the whole thus participated of means for civilization which the rest of Europe wanted.

> This country, called by the antient inhabitants HELLAS, by the Romans GRÆCIA, and thence by us GREECE, fo fingularly illustrious in the annals of mankind, was of small extent, being scarcely half so large as England, and not equal to a fourth of France or Spain. But as it has natural peculiarities which influenced. not a little, both the manners and the colitical institutions of the inhabitants, a short geographical account of it may be a necessary introduction to its history.

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GREECE is included between the thirty-fixth and

and forty-first degrees of northern latitude, and SECT is furrounded by feas, except where it borders upon Epirus and Macedonia. Thefe two provinces also were inhabited by a people who participated of the same origin with the Greeks, and fpoke a dialect of the fame language; nor have we any direct information how they became excluded from the name: but we shall find, in the fequel, that fome circumstances which contributed principally to hold the Greeks united as one people, tho under separate governments, did not extend their influence to these countries. Of PROPER GREECE Strab.1.7. therefore, or, according to Strabo's phrase P. 321. what was univerfally allowed to be Greece, for Epirus and Macedonia had their claims, THES-SALY was the most northern province. It is an extensive vale, of uncommon fertility, completely furrounded by very lofty mountains. On the north, OLYMPUS, beginning at the eastern coast, divides it from Macedonia. Contiguous ridges extend to the CERAUNIAN mountains, which form the northern boundary of Epirus, and terminate, against the western sea, in a promontory called Acroceraunus, famed for its height and for ftorms. Pinous forms the western boundary of Thessaly, and CETA the fouthern. Between the foot of mount Œta and the fea, is the famous pass of Thermopylæ, the only way, on the eastern side of the country, by which the fouthern provinces can be entered. The lofty, tho generally narrow ridge of Pelion, forming the coast, spreads in branches

CHAR branches to Œta, and is connected by Offa with Olympus. The tract extending from Epirus and Theffaly to the Corinthian ifthmus, and the gulphs on each fide of it, contains the provinces of Acarnania, Ætolia, Doris, Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, and Attica, Many branches from the vast ridges of Pindus and Œta spread themselves through this country. ETOLIA is every where defended by mountains with difficulty passable; excepting that the sea bounds it on the fouth, and the river Achstous divides a small part of its western frontier from ACAR-MANIA. DORIS is almost wholly mountainous. Locars, of which name were two provinces not contiguous, and Process have plains highly fruitful, but of small extent. Bororia confisted principally of a rich vale with many streams and lakes; bounded on the north-east by the Opuntian gulph, touching fouthward on the Corinthian, and otherwise mostly surrounded by the mountains PARNASSUS, HELICON, CITHERON, and PARNES. The two latter formed the northern boundary of ATTICA; a rocky barren province, little fruitful in corn and less in pasture, but producing many fruits, particularly olives and figs, in abundance and perfection.

Southward of this tract lies the peninfula of Peloponnesus, not to be approached by land but across the Boeotian or Attic mountains, which on each fide of the ishmus, rife precipitous from the fea, and thoot into the ishmus itself. The peninfula, according to the divi-The Local of

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fion of Strabo, contains Achaia Argolis, Elis SECT. or Eleia, Arcadia, Messenia, and Laconia, Ancapta, the central province, is a clufter of mountains. Lofty ridges, the principal of which are Taygerus and Zarex, branch through Lyaconya to the two most fouthern promontories of Greece, TENARUM, and MA-Between these the Euroras runs; the vales are rich, but no where extensive From CYELENE, the most northern and highest of the Arcadian mountains, two other branches extend in a fouth-eafterly direction to the Angoric gulph, the other, by Epidaurus, to the SCYLL MAN promontory, the most casterly point of the peninfula. These include the vale of Argos, remarkable for fruitfulness. Achara is a narrow firip of country on the northern coaft, preffed upon by the mountains in its whole length from Corinth to Dyme. To

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too differe to keep both within the defirable Or Achæa. It is in some instances difficult to decide what may be deemed the proper English orthography of Greek names. There was a time when the French fancy of altering foreign names to their vernacular terminations prevailed with our wri-This inconvenient practice, utterly useless in a language which neither declines its nouns, nor has any certain form of termination for them, has long been justly exploded with us and, excepting a very few, upon which custom has indelibly fixed its stamp, we write Latin names only as they are written in Latin. But the practice has prevailed of following the later Latin writers in their alterations of Greek names, infomuch that in regard to many circumstances the rule appears established, There are, however, still circumstances in regard to which no respectable authority is to be found, and, for some, precedents vary. In this uncertainty of rule I have thought it best to approach always as near to the Greek orthography as the tyranny of cultom, and, it should be added, the different nature of the alphabets, will permit.

avoid

CHAP, avoid confusion however, in the political dia vision of the country, it must be observed that the Corinthian territory, and the Sicyonian. were diffined from that properly called Achaia. and till a late period, were never included unden the name " Eats and Massanta are lefs mountainous than the other Peloponnesian provinces. The latter particularly is not only the most level of the peninsula, and the best adapted to rillage, but, ain general produce, the most fruitful of all Greeceway , emistaurica mailson

> adLike draly; ofor more than draly, sin large proportion a rough and intractable country. Greece nevertheless enjoyed many great? and even peculiar advantages. The climate is most favorable: the fummer-heat brings the finest fruits and the greatest perfection; the wintercold suffices to brace and harden the bodies of the inhabitants: the fea is fearcely any where too distant to keep both within the defirable temperature. The long winding range of coast abounds with excellent harbours. The low grounds afford rich herbage, the higher corn, wine and oil; and of the mountains, all producing pasture, some to a great extent were covered with variety of timber formed of the finest marble; fome contained various valuable metals. And this variety in the furface which gives occasion to fuch various produce, affords at the fame time variety of climate in every feafon of the year.

Descrip. Geog. du Golfe de Venise & de la Morée, par Bellin.

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10 Pausanias, in a late age, attributes Corinthia and Sicyonia, not to Achaia but to Argolis. Paulan. I. S. c. 1.

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The first emigrants who took possession of SECT. this country, if they retained the least relic of civility, could want no inducement to fettle themselves in the rich and beautiful vales with which it abounds. Even the most favage, for the habitation of a family, would prefer a fruitful plain; especially where mountain-forests were every-way at hand for the resource of hunting, when the vale, ill-cultivated or uncultivated, might no longer afford fubfiftence. But perhaps the beafts of prey, with which the old world has always been infefted fo much more than the new, have contributed not a little to the quicker progress of society and civilization. The first inhabitants of Greece could hardly fubfift without mutual support against the ravenous beasts of the woods and mountains, which every where furrounded them. Lions had made their way into Europe: and, fo late as the age of Herodotus, the breed Herod. I. remained in a long line of wild country, from 7. c. 125, the Achelous in Acarnania to the Nestus in Thrace. In the time of Hefiod and Homer, fecurity against wild beasts was an important purpose of human society. Some degree of political affociation would therefore from the first be necessary to the first settlers in Greece: the inhabitants of every vale would constitute a state more or less regular.

But the spirit of migration seems not soon to have subsided among mankind. Many whole hords, either diffatisfied with their fettlements, or, like the Arabs and Tartars to this day, Vol. I. without

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CHAP.

without a defire to fettle, quitted the spots they had first chosen, and wandered still in quest of others ": and it appears to have been a univerfal practice, when an eligible fituation was overstocked with inhabitants, which might foon happen where, not only manufactures and commerce, but even agriculture was unknown or unpractifed, to fend out colonies, often to parts very diffant. An inftance occurs in holy writ, fo illustrating many circumstances in early Grecian history, that it may be not improper to report it here. The patriarchs Efau and Jacob, having acquired large property in herds and flocks during their father's life, found their flock fo increased by the inheritance on his death, that, according to the phrase in our translation, e it was more than that they might dwell together.' The land of Canaan, whither their grandfather Abraham had migrated from Chaldaa, could not bear "them because of their cattle." In these circumstances it was the choice of Esau, the elder brother, to emigrate. Land open to the first occupier was readily to be found, and land

Genefis, c.35.V.29. —c. 37. V. 1.

τω Μάλιτα μίν δύν κατά τὰ Τροϊκά καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, γενίσθαι τὰς ἰφόδους καὶ τας μετανας άστικ συνίδη, τῶν το βαφθάρων ἄμα καὶ των Ελλήνων ἐρμῆ του χησαμένων πρὰς τὰν τῆς ἀλλοτρίας κατάς αστο. Αλλά καὶ πρὸ τῶν Τποϊκῶν ἢν ταῦτα· τό τι λὰρ Πελασγῶν ἢν Φῦλον καὶ τῶν Καυκώνων καὶ Λελέγων ἄρηται δ'ὅτι σολλαχου τῆς Ἐυρώπης ἐτίγχανν τουπάλαιδο πλαιώμενα. Strab. I. κιί. p. 572: The Amflerdam edition of 1707 has πρὸς for πρὸ τῶν Τροϊκων evidently an error of the prefe, and indeed corrected in the Latin version: though, it should be observed, the Latin version is by no means always to be trusted.

perhaps

perhaps for his purpole, preferable to that of SECT. Canaan. Moving accordingly with his followers and stock, he occupied mount Seir, and left the land of his father, as an infignificant part of the inheritance, to his younger brother.

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In very early times we find Greece overrun Strab. 1.5. by many different people, of whom the Greek P. 221. & writers in the most inlightened ages could give Thucyd. no fatisfactory account. Some came by land 1. 1. c. s. from the north; some by sea from the east or fouth; fome mixed amicably with the antient inhabitants; fome subdued or expelled them. The rich vales, which without cultivation would give large fupport for cattle, were the coveted territories; and these were continually changing their possessors. Of the expelled, fome wandered in quest of unoccupied vales; or in their turn drove out the inhabitants of the first they came to, if they found them weaker than themselves. Others took to the neighbouring mountains; and hence, harraffing the intruders, not unfrequently recovered in time their old settlement in the vale. When pressed by a superior force, any of them quitted their possessions with little regret; 'thinking,' as Thucydides observes, 'that a livelihood might be had anywhere, and anxious for nothing more: for being always uncertain when 'a more powerful clan might covet their territory, they had little encouragement to build,

or plant, or provide in any way farther than

' for prefent need.'

Greece thus, in its early days, was in a state

VERS-IS-T

Thucyd.

1. 1. C. 5.

CHAP of perpetual maroding and piratical warfares Cattle, as the great means of fublishence, were first the great object of plunder. Then, as the inhabitants of fome parts by degrees fettled to aggriculture, men, women, and children were stand fought for flaves. But Greece had nothing more peculiar than its adjacent fea; where fmall ilands were for thickly fcattered that Timeyd. their inhabitants, and in some measure those of the shores of the surrounding continents also, were mariners by necessity, and almost by nature. Water-expeditions, therefore, were foon found most commodious for carrying off spoil. The Greeks, moreover, in their most barbarous state, became acquainted with the value of the precious metals: for the Phenicians, whose industry, ingenuity, and adventurous spirit of commerce, led them early to explore the farthest shores of the Mediterranean, and even to risk the dangers of the ocean beyond, discovered mines of gold and filver in some of the ilands of the Ægean, and on its northern coaft. They formed establishments in several of the ilands; and Thafus, which lay conveniently for communication with the most productive mines, became the feat of their principal factory. Thus was offered the most powerful incentive to piracy, in a fea whose innumerable ilands and ports afforded fingular opportunity for the practice. Perhaps, as Homer, not less than the later Grecian authors, infinuates, the conduct of the Phenicians towards the uncivi-

lized nations, among whom the defire of gain

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Strab. 1.

3. p. 169. Thucyd. 1. 1. c. 8. Herodot. 1. 2. c. 44. & 1. 6. c. 47.

Odyff. 1. 20. V. 414-

led them, was not always the most upright or SECTO humane. Hostilities would naturally infue; and hence might first arise the estimation of Thucyd. piracy, which long prevailed among the Greeks an anchonorable practice. But whence-foever this opinion had its origin, however deferving the utmost reprobation, and however even unaccountable it may appear to civilized people who have no intercourfe with barbarians, it will yet be found that equal degrees of civility and of barbarism have occasioned manners and fentiments nearly fimilar in all ages and all nations. It is not very long fince robbery was held in esteem among the native Irish; and, within the memory of man, awhospitable highland Pennant's Scottish chief, proud of his fabled descent Account of Scotfrom kings and heroes, would have boafted of land. his atchievements in that way: in Sicily fuch Account fentiments even yet prevail; and among all the of Sicily. Wood on Arabian tribes, from the middle of Afia to the Homer. end of Africa, the idea of union between honor and robbery has been transmitted unaltered through hundreds of generations, a winn not

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led them, thus not always the north upright or AAHD

harrane. Mattline would naturally infact, and shence rould NOITDE offination of pirace, which long prevailed among the Gracks

Of the southern Provinces of Greece from the earliest Accounts to the Trojan War: Greece: Minos, Sicyon. Corinth. Argos: Pelasgian Dominion in Greece: Egyptian Colonies in Greece: Danaüs: Acrisius: Perseus. Pisar Colonies from Phrygia and Thessaly under Pelops. Hereules. Atreus: Dominion of the Family of Pelops: Agamemnon, Lacedemon,

Before Christ 1006, Newton's Chronology: 1406, Blair's Chronology,

SUCH was the wild and barbarous flate of Greece in general, when CRETS, the largest of its ilands, had acquired a polity fingularly regular, attended of courfe with fuperior civilization. In vain however would we inquire at what precise period, in what state of fociety, by what exertions of wisdom and courage, and through what affiftance of fortunate contingencies, fo extraordinary a work was accomplished: for many centuries elapsed before written records became common; and traditions are vague, various, and, for the most part, inexplicably mixed with fable. Crete is thus a great object for the differtator and the antiqua-Curiofity is excited by those scanty glimmerings of information, which have preferved to us the names of the Cabeiri, Telchines, Curetes, Corybantes, Idæi Dactyli, with Saturn, Jupiter, and other personages, either of this iland, or connected with it in mysterious history.

Strab. 1. 10, p. 466. 1

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history. Still more it is excited by that system of laws, which, in an age of favage ignorance, violence, and uncertainty, among furrounding nations, inforced civil order, and fecured civil Le freedom to the Cretan people; which was not only the particular model of the wonderful polity, so well known to us through the fame of Lacedæmon, but appears to have been the general fountain of Grecian legislation and ju- Strab. I. risprudence; and which continued to deserve Plat. de the eulogies of the greatest sages and politi- Leg. 1. 1. cians, in the brightest periods of literature and philosophy. emen afe together at pub

The glory of this establishment is generally Aristot. given to Minos, a prince of the island; whose Polit. history was however so dubiously transmitted Iliad. I. to posterity, that it remained undecided among & Odys. Grecian writers, whether he was a native or 1. 19. v. a foreigner. Some indeed attributed the final small sm improvement only to Minos; referring the first 10. p. 330. institution to Rhadamanthus in a still earlier Sic. Lin age; and some have supposed two princes of 1, 5.4, 79. the name of Minos in different periods. The evidence of Homer, however, tho delivered partly in the enigmatical language in which poetry often indulges, appears to determine that Minos, the only Minos whom he knew, Ariffot, and, it may be added, whom Aristotle knew, Polit. 1. 2. was not of Cretan origin, but a chief of adventurers from Phenicia; that Rhadamanthus was not his predecessor, but his younger brother; and that he was himself the great and original legislator. We are indeed without C 4 materials

10. p. 480, Plutarch 3. ed. Serran.

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Polit. L. a. c. 9. & 10. 10. p. 450,

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v2 122 .L Plate de leg. 1. 1. p. 635. de leg. 1. de Leg. l. 1. p. 626. & l. 2. p. 666. Ariftot.

Polit. 1.

7. C. 2.

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materials for any connected history of Crete even after the age of Minos; but there remains? from the most respectable authorities, a general account of its polity. This will however not obtain, from the liberal spirit of modern Europe, that full approbation which it earned from antiquity. It rested upon two principles; that freemen should be all equal; and that they fhould be ferved by flaves. The lawgiver therefore allowed no private property in land, nor fearcely in anything. The foil was cultivated by flaves, on the public accounts the freemen ate together at public tables, and their families were sublifted from the public flock. The monarch's authority, as we shall find, gel nerally through Greece in the early ages, was, except in war, extremely limited. The mal gistracies were wisely adapted to the spirit of the government. A fevere morality was in fome inflances inforced by law. The youth, in the courfe of an education particularly directed to form foldiers, were reftrained to the ftricteft modefty and temperance; Superiority was the meed only of age and merit. But while a comparatively fmall fociety thus lived in just freedom, and honorable leifure, a much larger portion of mankind was, for their fakes, doomed to rigid and irredeemable flavery.

It is difficult to account for the first establishment of fuch a system, but upon the supposition that a band of adventurers, from the polished countries of the east, seizing the lands, like the Spaniards in the West-Indian islands,

deprived

deprived the antient inhabitants of arms, and store compelled them to labors Accordingly we find it remarked that the Chetan constitution was not that of a civil, but of a military community: not fo much of a flate as of a campis. Yet Homer enumerates five different hords in Odys. L. Crete, using different dialects, all apparently 14. 1. free; for flaves are never reckoned among the people of a Grecian state, and all subject to the laws and government of Minos. But thus one people, under three names, Angles, Jutes, and in and Saxons, conquered our island; and if we add the Danes, Norwegians, and Normans, who afterward became its masters, they were all members of one nation. Homer also mentions the wealth and populoufness of Crete, Ibid. & the wisdom of the legislator, and his singular v. 65. favor with Jupiter: but the account goes no farther, and after Homer the traditions concerning Minos became peculiarly loaded with fable without the both commodition and

Some circumstances; however, of principal importance, feem to remain fufficiently warranted for hiftory. From a ftrong concurrence of restimony it appears that Minos was an able Thucyd. prince, who availed himfelf of advantages l. t. c. 3. open to him from the command of a people nos, & de formed to regular government, and not un. Leg. 1. 4acquainted with useful arts. Against those pi. Thucyd. rates, who infested every part of the Grecian & 4

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Στρατοφέδου χώς φολιτείαν έχετε άλλ όυκ և άτασι κατφακέτων. tiq. Rom. Plat. de Leg. l. ii. p. 666. Vid. & Plat. de Leg. l. i. p. 626, & 1. s. Ariftot. Polit, I. vii. c. 2.

Herodot. 1. 1. C- 10. Plutarch.

CHAP. feas, he kept armed vessels in constant employ; and his measures were so vigorous and judicious that he established security throughout the Ægean. Hence he has the credit, among historians, of having been the first Grecian Thueyd. prince who acquired the fovereinty of the fea. 1. 7. c. 4. By means of his fleet he extended his authority far among the ilands: he was respected Polit. 1. 2. throughout the coast of the neighbouring continents; and he left behind him a wide reputavit. Thef. tion for wifdom, justice, and power. Before the reign of this great prince, as that

> early and able historian Thucydides affures us, fuch had been the excesses of piracy that all

Thucyd. L 1. C. 7,

the shores both of the continent and ilands of Greece were nearly deserted: the ground was cultivated only at a secure distance from the fea, and there only towns and villages were to be found. But no fooner was the evil repreffed, than the active temper of the Greeks led them again to the coast: the most commodious havens were occupied; the spirit of adventure and industry, which had before been exerted in robbery, was turned to commerce; and, as wealth accrued, towns were fortified, so as to

Thucyd. 1. 1. c. 8.

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In earlier times, however, some settlements had been made, capable of refifting piratical attempts from the fea, or incursions of wandering freebooters by land. Sicyon, on the northern coast of Peloponnesus, claimed, in the civilized ages, to be the oldest town in Greece. A town implies not only an intention of fettled

fecure them against a renewal of former evils.

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occupancy, but also fome provision against on SECTO currences, of whatfoever kind, that might renew the necessity of migration. Some municilated pal government is indispensable. The town then, having more to apprehend than to hope from any political connection with the rude people from whom it fprung, undertakes to fuffice for itself, and becomes an independent flate. Thus, or at least partly thus, it feems to have been that the Greek word, which we commonly translate city, came to lignify, together with the town, its municipal government; and when we read in Grecian authors of s city founded, it is generally by the fame words implied, that an independent government was established. A long list of names is transmitted to us, as of chiefs who ruled Sycion with that title which, in process of ages, acquired more precifely the fame import with our term of King. But this lift comes wholly unwarranted by Grecian writers of belt authol rity. The history of the kings of Sicyon is moreover as uninteresting as uncertain; and, till a very late period, the fate they governed made little figure in the affairs of Greece, order

The happier fituation of CORINTH, founded in a very early age in the neighbourhood of Sicyon, perhaps prevented the growth of the elder town. Near the fouth-western point of Strab.1.8. the neck that joins Peloponnesus to northern P. 379; Greece, and within the same rich plain in Rom. 1. which Sicyon stands, a mountain-ridge, scarcely Pausan. 1, three miles long, rifes to a height, remarkable 2. c. si

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CHAP. even in a country of lofty mountains of The furnit is at the northern extremity in three Wheeler's fides are precipices almost perpendicular; and Tourney even on the fourth, afcent is difficult. Little nto beneath the pointed vertex is a plentiful fource Greece, b. 6. p. of pure water; which fo fituated, might help the poets to the fancy that there the winged Pind O. horse Pegasus, drinking, was caught by Betlelymp. 13. rophon. This most advantageous and nearly inexpugnable post by the name of Acrocorin-The second P. thus, became the citadel; and at its foot grew the town of Corinth, which, as early as Homer's Homer. Iliad. l. a. time, was noted for wealth acquired by com-¥. 570. & mence. For by land it was the key of commu-Thucyd. l. 1. c. 13. nication between northern and fouthern Greece; and by fea it became, through it ports, one on the Saronic, the other on the Corinthian gulph, the emporium for all that paffed between the east and the west, as far as Asia on one side, and Italy and Sicily on the other; the passage cound the fouthern promontories of Peloponnesus being Strab. 1.8. P. 378. fo dangerous, to coasting navigators, that it was

Str.b.1.8.

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but not delivered down to us objects of biftery. The pretentions of Sievon, however, to fuperior antiquity among the cities of Grence, are not undisputed, for Argos, which was certainly the first to acquire political eminence, has also been esteemed, by some of the most judicious antiquarians, to have had the more plaufible

generally avoided. Among the early princes of

Corinth were Sifyphus, Glaugus, and Belldro-

phon; names to which poetry has given same,

Paulan 1. claim to the earliest origin. It is faid to have 2. C. 15. been בייים

been founded by Inachus for of the ocean out stell ricle which, in the language of the age, might a possibly imply that the bearer came from beyond fear noboby knew whence; or perhaps from the banks of the Nile, which is faid to have Diod. l. r. borne, in early times, the name of Ocean. But fome Grecian writers have doubted whether Inachus were ever really the name of a man, or only of a fmall river near Argos; and thefe attribute the foundation of the city to Phoroneus, whom the others call fon of Inachus. The age of Phoroneus was nindeed the term beyond Plat. Tiwhich, as Plato affures, nothing was known of meus, p. Greece; and the more probable tradition con-ed. Serran cerning the origin of Sicyon, supposed its founder, Ægialeus, cotemporary and even brother of Phoroneus. Halanimen of phones to soitin leg

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The chronology of these times will, however, be the subject of future inquiry; which yet, it may here be confessed, cannot lead to certainty. It has deen computed by chronologers, who have found credit with some of the most learned Blat's even of the present age, that Sicyon was found Chronoloded two thousand and eighty-nine years before bles. the Christian era, and only two hundred and fifty-nine after the Flood: that the foundation of Argos followed after a period of two hundred and thirty-three years, and that the reign of Minos in Crete was still four hundred and fifty years later. Sir Isaac Newton's conjecture, far more confonant to the most authoritative traditions concerning the train of events, is, that Sievon and Argos may have been founded nearly toge-

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Newton's Chrono-

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CHAP, ther, about one thousand and eighty years before the Christian era, and less than eighty before the reign of Minos. Indeed from the traditions preferved by the oldest poets, and all the inquiries reported to us by the most judicious Grecian profe-writers concerning the antiquities of their country, it appears rather probable that fearcely a wandering hunter had ever fet foot in Peloponnesus, so early as the period assigned by chronologers, even to the founding of Argos.

But towns are not usually at once built, and a new state formed, by the natives of a country. In the more common course of things they grow fo imperceptibly, that not a rumor of their origin can remain. The accounts, therefore, which refer the foundation of the principal cities of Greece to particular eras and particular persons, mark them for colonies. Indeed, amid all the darkness and intricacy of early Grecian history, we find a strong concurrence of testimony to a few principal facts. It of the Pe- was a received opinion, among the most informed and judicious Grecian writers, that Greece was originally held by Barbarians; a term appropriated, in the flourishing ages of Greece, as a definition for all people who were not Greeks. Among the uncertain traditions of various hords, who in early times overran the country, the PELASGIAN name is eminent. This name may be traced back into Asia: it is found in the ilands; and the people who bore it appear to have fpred far on the continent of Europe, fince they are reckoned among the earlieft

See Herodotus's A ccount lafgians, Thucydides's Introduction, Plato, Ariftotle, and most par-ticularly Strabo, b. 7. p. 321. and b. 9. p. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 3. Hom. Il. l. 2. v. 347. 1. 10.

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lieft inhabitants of Italy. It was very generally SECT. acknowleded, as the accurate and judicious Strabo affures us, that the Pelafgians were an- v. 439, & tiently established all over Greece, and that 1. 17. v. they were the first people who became powerful 288. & there. Confonant to this we find every men Odyst. 1. tion of the Pelasgians by Herodotus and Thue Herod. L. cydides; from the former of whom we learn, 1.6.c. that Pelafgia was once a general name for the 136. 1.7. country. But a passage of the poet Æschylus Strab. 1. concerning this people, for its antiquity, its \$. P. 221. evident honesty, its probability, and its confif- Hal. An tency with all other remaining evidence of beft iq. Rom. authority, appears to deserve particular notice. 1. s. p. The Pelasgian princes, he fays, extended their &l. 7. p. dominion over all the northern parts of Greece, 327. together with Macedonia and Epirus, as far as 1. a. c. 56. the river Strymon eastward, and the sea beyond Banaid. the Dodonæan mountains westward. Pelopon- p. 316. ed. H. Steph. nefus was not peopled fo early: for Apis, apparently a Pelasgian chief, croffing the Corinthian gulph from Ætolia, and destroying the wild beafts, first made that peninsula securely habitable for men; and hence it had from him its most antient name of Apia.

It appears that, in a very remote period, fome revolutions in Egypt, whose early tranfactions are otherwise little known to us, compelled a large proportion of the inhabitants to feek forein settlements ". To this event probably

¹³ That fuch revolutions, and more particularly that fuch migrations happened, appears not doubtful, though the investiga-

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CHAP. bably Grete owed its early civilization. Some of the best supported of antient Grecian traditions. relate the establishment of Egyptian colonies in .v. Greece traditions fo little accommodated to national prejudice, yet fo very generally received, and fo perfectly confonant to all known hiflon tory, that, for their more effential circumstances, they feem unquestionable ... These fettlers of courfe brought with them many oriental traditions; which, in process of ages, through the unavoidable incorrectness of oral delivery. became fo blended with early Grecian story, that, when at length letters came into use, it was no longer possible to ascertain what was properly and originally Grecian, and what had been derived from Phenicia or Egypt. Hence the abundant fource, and hence the unbounded Stope of Grecian fable. Hence too the variety differential of ingenious but different fancies of formany .mane .H learned men, concerning the truths which probably lie every where concealed under the alluring difguife, but which will also probably for ever evade any complete detection.

With all the intricacy of fable, however, in which early Grecian history is involved, the origin of the Greek nation from a mixture of

fome revolutions in Buret, whole daily trantors of Egyptian antiquities disagree about both the circumstances of these events, and the persons principally concerned. See Shuckford's Connection of Sacred and Profane History, and Bryant's Analysis of Antient Mythology.

14 They are confirmed by the concurring testimonies particularly of Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, Strabo, and Diodorus Siculus, with the added evidence of the popular poets Aschylus and Euripides. The doubt it thought to a state of the chylus and Euripides.

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the Pelasgian, and possibly some other barba- SECT. rous hords, with colonies from Phenicia and Egypt, feems not doubtful. Argos, according Thatya, to all accounts, was an Egyptian colony. We 1. g. g. are told that the first chief, whether Inachus or Phoroneus, or whatever may have been his name, brought the wild natives of the neighbourhood to fubmit to his government, intro- Paufan. duced fome form of religion among them, and 1. 2, c. 15. made a progress toward their civilization. We can little expect objects for history among the traditions which would pass to posterity concerning the early state of such a colony. But the fuccessors of Phoroneous have afforded ample matter for fable; which yet we find univerfally tinged with some reference to Egypt and the East. Io, daughter of one of those princes, Richyl. but of which is not agreed, had, according to Prometh, et Danaid. poetical report, an amour with the god Jupiter, was by him transformed into a cow, in that shape travelled into Egypt, and there became a goddess. Herodotus gives no improbable account, if not of the origin of this fiction, yet of the origin of its connection with Grecian story; and, as it serves to mark the manners of the age, it may be worth relating. Some Phe-Herod L. nician merchants, he fays, brought a cargo of c. 1. the manufactures of their country to Argos. The Grecian women, eager to procure toys and utenfils which their own towns, yet without manufactures, did not furnish, came in numbers to the sea-shore. The Phenicians, to whom women werein the East very profitable merchandise, hav-

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CHAP. ing allured or forced many into their veffels, and among them Io, daughter of the chief of the district, failed away 15.

Schol. ad V. 42. l. 1. Iliad.

Among the kings of Argos also we find another personage of great same in poetry, the Egyptian Danaüs, whose fifty daughters, it is faid, married on the fame day the fifty fons of his brother Ægyptus, king of Egypt, and all, except Hypermnestra, wife of Lynceus, killed their husbands on the wedding-night. Of this family too we have fome circumstances related which characterize the times. Danaüs. through whatfoever cause, for reports are various, finding his fituation uneasy in Egypt, imbarked with his family and what followers he could collect, to feek a fettlement. Failing in an attempt to establish his colony in the iland of Rhodes, he proceeded to Peloponnesus, and landed near Argos, where Gelanor then reigned. The favor with which he was received by the rude inhabitants, or which he had the art quickly to acquire among them, was fo extraordinary, that it inspired him with the confidence to demand the fovereinty of the state as his legal right. His claim, according to the tradition transmitted to us, had no better foun-

Ifocrat. Helen. encom.

Diodor. 1. 5. c. 58 Æschyl. Danaid. Paulan. 1. 2. C. 19.

> 15 That these were probable circumstances we may judge from a fimilar flory, related of different persons, by Homer, Odyst, I. 15. Mr. Bryant derives the story of Io from a very different origin. His supposition, however, does not at all impugn the credibility of Herodotus's anecdote, who leaves it wholly unaccounted for how the stolen princess should acquire in a forein country the reputation of a goddefs.

> dation than a pretended descent from the Ar-

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gian princefs, whose story has been just related. SECT. But if an Egyptian colony had before been established at Argos, an Egyptian prince might have other pretentions to interest, or even to command there. A different cause is, however, reported for his favor with the people. The Argians were fo uninformed that, upon the failure of spontaneous fountains, they often fuf- Strab. 1 fered for want of water, tho the ground, on which \$. P. 371. the city flood, abounded with excellent forings at little depth. Danais taught them to dig wells. The boon was, in a hot climate particularly, of high importance. The temper of the Greeks was warm: admiration and gratitude became the ruling passions at Argos, and produced an inclination toward Danaus fo violent, Paufan. that Gelanor was conftrained to admit him ut sup. -peaceably to plead his right to the fovereinty, before an affembly of the people, held for the purpose, in the fields without the city. The dispute, however, was so equally maintained, that it became necessary to defer the decision till the morrow. By daybreak, accordingly, the people were crowding out of the gates, when a wolf from the neighbouring mountains caught their attention, while he attacked a herd, grazing near the city-wall, and killed the bull. This was taken as an omen declaring the divine will: the wolf was interpreted to fignify the stranger, the bull their native prince, and the kingdom was adjudged to Danaus. Whatever credit we give to the circumstances of thefe and fimilar stories, they convey to us lat

CHAP.

least the idea which the succeeding Greeks had of the manners, as well as of the history, of their ancestors. Probably they are not wholly unfounded: certainly they are not the invention of adulationand partiality; and they are the only memorials remaining to characterize those early ages.

Æschyl. Danaid. p. 316. ed. H. Steph.

The people of Argos, at the arrival of Danaüs, were, according to Æschylus, Pelasgians, and subjects of a prince whose dominion extended over all Greece, including Epirus and Macedonia. Probably the Egyptian colony of Inachus or Phoroneus, little numerous, had been unable to maintain itself in independency against the antient chief of so extensive a territory. But Danaüs made his establishment firm: he transmitted it as an inheritance to his posterity; and such was the prevalence of his power and fame in Peloponnesus, that, according to Euripides, the people of that peninsula, before called Pelasgians, received from him the name of Danaäns, which remained to Homer's age 16.

16 Δαναός, ὁ πεντόμοντα θυγατέρων ποτής, Ελθών ἐις "Αργος, ὤνισεν Ἰνάχου πόλι» Πιλασγιώτασ δ' ὁνομασμένουδ φπρὶν Δαναούς καλδισθαι νόμον ὅθηκ' ἀν' Ἑλλάδα.

Strab. l. 5. p. 221. & l. 8. p. 371.

Æschylus calls Danaüs and his Egyptians Barbarians, and seems to consider the Pelasgians as true Greeks. Strabo, in a later age speaks of the Pelasgians as barbarians: Πίλωσο καθ λλλο βάρδαρο, he says, b. 9. p. 410. But Ovid and Virgil, both much versed in the antient Grecian traditions, frequently use the Pelasgian name as synonymous with Greek; and by the higher authority of Europides we find Argos in Peloponnesus called Argos subdocymôr (Phæniss, v. 265.) and the army of the Seven before Thebes, Πελασγιών εράτωμα. (Phæniss. v. 107.)

Danaus was succeeded in the sovereinty of SECT. Argos by Lynceus, his fon-in-law, an Egyptian born. Acrifius, grandfon of Lynceus, most Paufan, L. known through the poets as father of the cele- 2. C. 16. brated Danaë, would much more on another 1. 2. c. 91. account demand the notice of history, were it possible to trace and connect the circumstances of his reign. We learn, however, only from scattered mention of him, that he acquired influence far beyond the bounds of Peloponnesus, and that he gave form and stability to a very important institution in the northern provinces of Greece, which will require more particular notice hereafter, as a principal efficient in uniting and holding together, as one people, the various hostile tribes who occupied the country. By what means his power became thus extended we are wholly uninformed. Some confused traditions only, of troubles toward the end of his reign, account for its decay. Perseus, son of Danaë, daughter of Acrifius, is the first Grecian recorded to posterity, even in poetry and fable, as great in deeds of arms. He stands therefore at the head of the lift of those antient warriors, whose names the poetical genius of their country has made so fingularly illustrious, but whose actions almost wholly elude the scrutiny of history. Perseus is the reputed founder strab. I. of the city of Mycenæ, which he made the ca- 8. p. 377. pital of his dominion. Argos was still govern- 1. 2. c. 15, ed by its own chief magistrate, with the title of king, but dependent upon the King of My-

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cenæ, who is stiled by Homer, King of many Iliad, 1. 2.

Strab: 1. p. 37%. Strab. l. 8. p. 377.

CHAP. Hands, and of ALL ARGOS: a term which, with that author, implied the whole of Peloponnefus. The tragic poets, to whole purpoles the vicifitudes in the fortune of the two cities were little important, have, as Strabo has remarked, frequently used the names indifferently one for the other; but, in history, we shall find it necessary to avoid the confusion.

Ifocrat. Helen. encom. Strab. 1. 8. p. 321. Pindar. Olymp. 1.

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Cotemporary with Perfeus was Pelops, for of Tantalus king of Phrygia, or, according to Pindar, of Lydia, in Afia Minor; who, it is faid, preffed by unfuccefsful war, quitted his country, with the eafiness usual in those early ages, at the head of his partizans, to feek better fortune elfewhere. Defectively as the circumstances of this prince's story are transmitted to us, and mingled with romantic fable, yet fome of the most important remain strongly authenticated. It appears that the western provinces of Afia Minor preceded Greece in arts and civilization. This, for which we have many grounds of furmize, receives confirmation from the judicious and candid Thucydides, who relates that, while the Greeks were yet barbarous and their country poor, Pelops, bringing with him treasures to an amount before unknown, quickly acquired an interest superior to that of any native. We are farther informed by Polybius, whose testimony, in itself weighty, is confirmed by Strabo and Paulanias, that Pelops was at-1. 2. c. 18. tended into Peloponnesus by a body of Achaians from Theffaly, whom he effablished in Laconia. e. 13. Iliad, I. 2. But we learn from Homer, that the Achaian name

Thucyd. 1. 1. c. 9.

Polyb. 1. 2, p. 178. Strab. I. 8. p. 383. Paufan. & 1. 5.

name spred far in the peninsula; for he calls SECT. the Argians, with all the people of the northeastern coast, Achaians; and he distinguishes the whole of Peloponnesus from the rest of Strab. I. Greece by the name of Achaian Argos. A Diod. L. large concurrence of tradition affirms that the 4,6.75 Phrygian prince married Hippodameia, daughter of Œnomaüs, chief of Pisa in Eleia, whom 993. N. he succeeded in the sovereinty of that territory; and that in the course of a long reign he established his influence, not so much by wars, as by the marriages of his numerous iffue, and by his wife conduct, affifted however, probably, by fome terror of his power, throughout the peninfula; infomuch that it derived from him the name which it retained fo many ages, and which is not yet wholly absolete ".

Aftydameia, daughter of Pelops, was married Diod. 1. to Sthenelus, king of Argos, fon of Perseus. 4 c. 9-Their fon and successor Eurystheus is known 1.5. c. 13. for his enmity to Heracles, or, as we usually write with the Latins, Hercules, descended also This hero, the from both Perseus and Pelops. Grecian or the Theban Hercules, as he is often Homer. called to diffinguish him from some great men

Iliad. 1. 324. & 1. 19. V. 98.

¹⁷ The Genoese and Venetians, in their conquests in the Levant, totally changed the names of many principal places of Greece and the Grecian feas; and the French in all their writings, and, what is worfe, in some of the best maps extant, have so mutilated and barbarized all classical names, particularly the Greek, that a dictionary is often wanting to explain what the deformed appellations mean. The modern Greeks retain the antient names almost universally, and with scarcely any deviation from the classical orthography. we learn from A C mer

Odyff. 1.
11. v. 265.
Hefiod.
Scut.
Herc. & Theogon,
v. 943.
Pind.
Nem. 10.
Herod. l.
3. c. 43.

Homer. Iliad. 1. 5. 638. & 1. 11. 689.

of other countries known among the Greeks by the same name, was born at Thebes in Bœotia, of Alcmena, wife of Amphitryon king of that city; but, according to poetical report, his father was the god Jupiter. In vain would hiftory investigate the particulars of the life of this celebrated personage; whose great actions, configned to fame by an ingenious people in a romantic age, have been fo disguised with fictitious ornament, as even to have brought his exiftence into question. But beside a large concurrence of other testimony, Homer leaves no room to doubt, either that there was fuch a Grecian prince, or who and what he was. He reprefents him, not that vagabond unattended favage, which later poets have made him, whose only covering was a lion's skin, whose only weapon a club (an attire which he rather owes perhaps originally to the statuaries) and whose fingle ftrength was equal either to the discomfiture of hofts, or to the labor of a thousand hardy hinds; but, on the contrary, a prince commanding armies, which were the ministers of his great actions. Yet while his own fame, and still more that of his posterity, who became fingularly illustrious in Grecian story, forbid to pass him unmentioned, scarcely more can be done than to assign him his rank, as greatest among the heroes of that peculiarly called the heroic age; who, prompted by a spirit similar to what many ages after animated the northern and western nations, devoted themselves to toil and danger in the service of mankind

kind and the acquifition of honest fame; oppo- SECT. fing oppreffors, and relieving the oppreffed, wherever they were to be found, and bearing thus the fword of universal justice, while governments were yet too weak to wield it "."

The hatred of Eurystheus, which pursued Hercules through life, was continued, after his death, to his children and friends. Compelled to quit Peloponnesus, they found a generous Herod. L' reception at Athens. The Argian monarch in- 9. c. 37. vaded Attica, but, in a battle with the Athe- 1. 1. c. 9. nians, was defeated and flain. This event made neg. p. way for new honors and power to the family of 198. to 1. Pelops. Atreus, fon of that prince, and uncle Auger. to Eurystheus, had been intrusted by his nephew Strab. I. with the regency of his Peloponnesian domi with the regency of his Peloponnesian domi- 377

28 Respice vindicibus pacatum viribus orbem. Quà latam Nereus cærulus ambit humum. Se tibi pax terræ, tibi se tuta æquora debent : Implesti meritis Solis utramque domum.

Ovid. Epift. Deian. Herc.

An ingenious attempt to elicit history from the poetical traditions concerning the Grecian Hercules, may be feen in Dr. Samuel Musgrave's Differtation on Grecian Mythology. Remaining teftimonies concerning the eastern heroes, whom the Greeks called by the some name, are collected in Mr. Bryant's System of Antient Mythology. It is truly observed by Dr. Musgrave, that the name Heracles bears all appearance of being originally Grecian, formed by the fame analogy as Diocles, Athenocles, and other Greek names. It is however well known that the Greeks continually altered forein names, to accommodate them to their own pronunciation and to the inflexions of their language: fometimes, they translated them; and fometimes, by a less violent change, by the transposition or alteration of a letter or two, reduced them to bear intirely a Grecian appearance, with a meaning however totally different from the original. Mr. Bryant has collected instances of all these circumstances.

Thucyd. 1. 1. c. 9. Strab. 1. 8. p. 359. Iliad. l. 2. V. 575. Strab. 1. 8: p. 383. Paufan. & 1. 7. & 1. 7. L a. v. 570. Pausan. l. 2. C. 4 Homer. Iliad. L. r. V. 185. & 278. l. g. v. 32. & & feg. & V. 160. Thucyd. 1. 1. c. 9. nath. p. 472. B. C. 919. N. 1198. B.

CHAP. nions during the Attic expedition. On the death of Eurystheus, Atreus assumed the fovereinty; the greatness of his connections, and the popularity of his character (fuch is the opinion which Thucydides professes) precluding competition. The claims of the Perfeid and Pelopid families, thus by right or violence, united in the house of Pelops, extended over all or nearly all Peloponnesus. Eleia had been inherited from Œnomaüs. Laconia, including, according to Strabo, great part of Messenia, was occupied by the colonies from Phrygia and Theffaly which had followed the fortune of Pelops. Achaia, then called Ægialos, or Ægialeia, with Corinth, was of the particular domain of Mycenæ. Still feveral cities of Peloponnefus had each its chief, prefiding over its muniseq. v. 96. cipal government; and the degree of dependance of these upon the paramount soverein, was little exactly defined by either compact or custom: Hoer. Pa- but the superiority of the head of the house of Pelops in rank, and his claim to military command, appear to have been undifputed. Under these advantageous circumstances the Argian fcepter devolved to Agamemnon, fon or grandfon of Atreus; for the succession is variously related 19. Tradition is, however, uniform concerning

¹⁹ Homer fays that the scepter, presented from Jupiter by Mercury to Pelops, was given by him to Atreus, who at his death left it to Thyestes, who bequeathed it, with the fovereint of all Argos and many ilands, to Agamemnon (1). He mentions nothing of the murder of Chrylippus, eldeft fon of Pelops, by Atreus, nor of any of those horrors of domestic discord between the

portance; an accession of fortune, which brought all the southern part of Peloponnesus under the dominion of Agamemnon.

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The city of LACEDEMON, otherwise called SPARTA, was sounded at a period beyond certain memorials. It appears from Homer to have been among the most considerable of the remote ages, but is little known for any remarkable personages or events till the reign of Tyndareus, whose wise, the poetical Leda, was mother of the celebrated brothers Castor and Polydeuces, or, as the Romans abbreviated the name, Pollux, and the still more celebrated sisters Clytemnestra and Helen. The brothers, afterward for their heroic deeds deisied and numbered among the signs of the zodiac, died in early manhood. The sisters were married, Clytemnestra to Agamemnon, and Helen to his brother

the furviving brothers, which in after-ages filled the scenes of the tragic poets, and sound place even in the narration of grave historians. The flight of Atreus from his father's residence on account of the death of Chrysppus, is indeed mentioned by Thucydides (2), but nothing further. The Scholiast on Homer (3) reports, that Atreus, dying, bequeathed his kingdom to his brother Thyestes, on condition that he should resign it to Agamemnon, son of Atreus, on his attaining manhood, and that Thyestes faithfully executed the trust. Æschylus, Strabo, and Pausanias agree with the Scholiast (4) in calling Agamemnon and Menelaus sons of Atreus. Others (5) have supposed them his grandsons by his son Pleisthenes, who died young. The general notoriety only, it should seem, of the parentage of Agamemnon in Homer's age could octasion his neglect to particularize it, when he has so carefully recorded the pedigrees of many inferior personages.

(1) Iliad. l. s. v. 103. (2) Thueyd. l. i. c. g. (3) Iliad. l. s. v. 107. (4) Æfchyl. Agamem. Strab. l. S. p. 372. Paulan. l. 3. c. s.

(6) Clem, Alex. in Strom.

Menelaüs.

Menelaus. Thus, by inheritance through these princesses, a large and valuable domain accrued to the house of Pelops. The command of Lacedæmon was given to Menelaus. But the time to which we now approach being distinguished by that very celebrated event the Trojan war, one of the great epochs of Grecian history, it will be necessary, before we proceed farther in the account of Peloponnesus, to take such a view, as remaining memorials will inable us to take, of the rest of Greece.

SECTION' III.

Of the northern Provinces of Greece from the earliest Accounts to the Trojan War. Thessay: Tempë: Deucalion's Flood: Centaurs: Jason: Argonautic Expedition. Baotia: Flood of Ogyges: Thebes. Ætolia. Attica: Cecrops: Athens: Ægeus: Theseus: Ariadne. Improvement of the Athenian Government by Theseus: The Athenians the sirst civilized People of Greece.

OF the provinces without the peninfula, the two whose fruitfulness mostly attracted the attention of emigrants, were Thessalv and Bosotia; and these were under very peculiar natural circumstances. Through the middle of the former runs the river Peneius, which, receiving, in its course along the plain, many smaller streams and the overslowings of two considerable lakes, forces its way into the sea, through the

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the narrow valley of Tempe, between the moun. SECT. tains Olympus and Offa. A country thus albounding with waters, and inclosed by mountains, could not but be subject to inundations. Herodotus, whom, on this as on many other Herod. occasions, Strabo has not disdained to follow, re- 1.7. c. lates a tradition that Theffaly was originally one Strab. L. vast lake, without visible outlet; till an earthquake, rending Olympus from Offa, formed the valley of Tempë. Still, however, the frequency of fmaller floods appears to have cooperated with that fruitfulness of soil, which invited rapine, in making Theffaly yet more subject to revolutions in its population than any other Grecian province; and hence perhaps Homer was the better inabled to attribute to his hero Achilles, the principal chieftain of those parts Plat de at the time of the Trojan war, the honor of Rep. 1.3. having a goddess for his mother, and for his fa- Schol ad ther a mortal indeed, but only fecond in defcent v. 14.1. from Jupiter.

THESSALY was, however, unless we should except Crete, the oldest object of poetical story and popular tradition of any part of Greece; and, had we means of investigation, were perhaps the worthiest of historical curiosity. We read of kings there, who extended their dominion fouthward as far as the Corinthian ifthmus. and who left monuments of their wisdom that furvived almost all memory of their power. Plat. Me-These will require our future notice. Thessay p. 70. & Hip. Maj. was always famous for its horses, and for the turn t.3. p. 284. of its people to horsemanship; which the story

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of ohe Cent, we apparently indicates to have been earlier known there than elfewhere in Greece. Whether those poetical people were native Theffalians, or forein invaders who fertled in Theffaly, the traditionary character of the centaur Chiron feems to imply that they were a people superior in acquirements to the fouthern Greeks of their age " In Theffaly Stake, rending Champas, from Office formed

the valley of Tenorit Still board of the free

29 The most inquisitive and judicious of the antient antiquarians appear to have been at a loss what to think of the Centaurs. Strabo calls them ayelds to ¢8000 (1), a mode of expression implying his uncertainty about them, while he gives them an epithet for which no reason appears. Hesiod (a) and Homer never speak of them as a favage race, and feem to have known nothing of their equine form; which, if not an Egyptian invention, has been found out by the ingenuity of later ages. The scholiast on Homer indeed tays that, where Neffor, in the first book of the Iliad (3), speaks of mountain beafts destroyed by Theseus, he means the Centaurs: but this interpretation feems violently far-fetched, and as unwar, rantable as nanecessary, while the meaning of the words in their common acceptation is obvious, and perfectly conformat to every account of the state of things in that age. Nor does the Scholiast feem better founded in supposing that the Centaurs are intended, in the fecond book of the Iliad (4), under the description of hairy wild beafts of mount Pelion. In the Odyffee (5) we find the centaur Eurytion, whose very name imports a respectable character, mentioned with the honorable epithet ayaxxeros, not likely to be given to one of a tribe fit to be described by the gross appellations of mountain-beafts and hairy favages. He behaved ill indeed; but it was in great company; and it is expressly mentioned as as extraordinary circumstance, the consequence of accidental drunkennels. The flory indeed feems to be intended by the poet as an inflance that perfons of highest rank and most respectable character, if they yield to intemperance, reduce themselves, for the time, to a level with the lowest and most profligate, and are liable to suffer accordingly. Pindar in his 3d, 4th, and 9th Pythian Odes, and ad Nemean, describes the Centaur Chiron as a most paradoxical being, which yet, in the fourth Pythian, he has defined in two words, pip 9ing, a godlike wild beaft. But even in Xenophon's

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alfo, at the port of lolcus, we are told, was made the first successful attempt to build a ship of fize fuperior to what had before been known. and from thence failed the celebrated expedition of the Argonauts. Tho we do not believe all the romantic, and ftill less the impossible tales, which poets, and even fome grave historians, have told of those famous adventurers: the we are aware of the mixture of eastern tradition with early Grecian history, of the unavoidable confusion of chronology through a long course of oral delivery, and of the blending of events of diffant countries and different ages, yet it feems unreasonable to discredit intirely the Argonautic expedition; which on the authority of antient writers, and with perfect con- Pind. fonance to probability and the character of the Diod. I. times, may be fairly related thus. Jason, a 4-c. 4r. young man of high birth, high spirit, and su- 42. c. 2. perior bodily accomplishments, circumstances which excited a jealoufy that made his fituation uneasy at home, was ambitious of conducting a pirating expedition, then an honorable undertaking, to a greater distance than any had ventured before him. With the affiftance of the wealth and power of his uncle, who was prince of the district, and of the skill of a Phenician

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phon's time, it should seem, the term Centaur did not of itself discriminate the imaginary animal half-man and half-horse; for that author, wanting to particularize fuch animals, never calls them fimply Centaurs, but always Hippocentaurs, Horfe-centaurs. See Cyropæd. b. 4.

(i) Strab l.g. p. 489. (s) So. Herc. v. 184. (3) v. 268. (4) v. 748. (5) 1. 21. v. 295.

mechanic.

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937. N. 1263. B.

Herodot. l. 2. c. 104. Strab. l. 1. P. 45.

Strab. 1. 31. p. 499-Arrian de Bell. Mithridat.

mechanic he built a veffel larger than had hithern been common among the Greeks, His The second of th of his our induced voung men of diffraction other parts of Greece to soin in the adventure. They directed their course to Calair on of the coast of the Bowine release country devree civilized according to derodo tus, by an Egyptian colony, and abounding in Thorys ountered gold, filver and iron mines many althoughes and street come of a and their fuccels upon the whole appears doubtill but, in one great object of the ambition of the age, their chief at least was gratified; the princets Medeia, daughter of the line of the country, went off with him and palled into Greece t was a practice of the Colchians, as we are fold by Strabo and Arrian, to collect gold on mount Caucacus, by extending neeces acros, the beds of the torrents; as the water paner, the metallic particles remained intangled in the wool. Hence, according to those morned and redicious writers, the adventure was named the expedition of the golden seece.

BOTOTIA WEST under return communications vet more extraordinary than Thefaly. It is a vale, 9. P. 400: full of subterranean caverns, and persulan subjest to ear-iquakes. The lurrow dime mountains pour in their streams on thinks following river and lakes, withou any nel sevent cous and permanent ounder as the vehicle of a since gives to the waters of Thenaly. Larenquaker were not only often stopping old channels, and

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CHAR of a subterranean opening, by which the river Cephifus, and the overflowings of the lake Copais, formerly destitute of any known vent, were discharged into the sea. No part of Greece was more fruitful in matter for fable and poetry than Thebesant The Stories of Cadmus himfelf, of Semele Bacchus, Antione, Zethus, Amphion, Amphitryon, Alemena, Hercules, Lains Jocafta, Edinus, Eteocles, Polynices, may be red with pleafure and advantage in the works of the Greek and Latin poets, but scarcely effewhere. From those stories, however, we may collect that Thebes was, in that remote age, one of the most flourishing and powerful cities of Greece21. B. C. The war which it fuftained against the feven 928. N.

1225. B. Hef. Op. & Di. l. r. v. 160. Il. 1.4. V.377. 1.6. 5. 223. & l. 14. V.

114. Odyff, 1. 15.V. 247.

Iliad. l. a. V. 641.

The ÆTOLIANS were, in thefe cardy times, not inferior to their neighbours, in civilization, or in confequence among the Grecian people. Poetry has immortalized their heroen Tydous, Meleager, and others. Homer adverts in awo lines, frongly manked by that powen which he fingularly pofferfed, of expressing the receptiff pathetic in the fimpleft thoms to the natafronhe of the family of Œneus, king of the country, as to a flory well known among his coteror

chiefs, authenticated to us by Hefiod and Ho-

mer, and made illustrious by the tragedy of

Æschylus, and the epic poem of Statius, is the

first instance of a league among Grecian princes,

and of anything approaching to regular water

Herodotus, Thucydides, Platu, Arithrice of even Strabe Tais pryakarous in Social bids and viole and bad more Sophoc. Oedip. Tyr. v. 112612513 van had it

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rics. Those, commander of the Atolian troops SBOT. at the flege of Droyp is reprofested, not only as a lender of general merio, but for his clo. II. 1. 15... aperice remarkable. 101 Horeaften werthalt find great inferiority in the comparative progress of the Atolians The peculiar dangers of their feat especially of the passage from the east round Strab. 1. the capes of Peloponnefus wery much exclud- Wood on ed them from the commerce of the more divilized mational The adjoining people of Acarnadia, blone of all the Greeks, had not the honor of partaking in the Trojan war; and, for fome centuries after that event, these western provinces had little communication with the reft of Greece Phocis, Doris, and Locris, are alfo without objects of history; but Attical were it only for its subsequent fame, will demand force notice of its early traditionism and all the

Ocyoss has had the reputation of being the first king of Arrical sand chronologers have Blair's undertaken even to fix the time of his reign. It Tables, is fer by fome above two hundred and by the nol. Tamon moderates hundred and fifty years before the Hift. of next event and even before the next name of a Greece by man recorded invalide history by But we have Defno affurance that even the name of Ogiges was preaux. known to the older Grecian authors 19 18 If any thingiousn be gathered from the traditions con-

Homer.

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" Olygon I believe is not mentioned by Henod Homer. Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, or even Strabo; to all of whom apparently, he must have occurred as an object of mention, had his flory been at all known in their times, or at least, had it had any credit. Mbarries 351 One House

of the family of Œdeus, king of the county

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Strab. I.

9. p. 407. Paufan. l.

9. C. 24.

CHAPA corning such a Sperionageor Reperced by glater writers of bestvauthority, nit is that, at some period too far beyond conhected history for any ealculation of fits date, a shood defolatille the rich fields of Bootia over which he Ocietied. drove many of the inhabitants to effablish themfelves in the adjoining country of Atticay hilly, rocky, and little fruitful , yet preferable to the mountainous tracts every other way furrounding their former fettelements. Both Strabo and Paul fanias mention a tradition, that antiently there had been towns in Borotia called Athens and Eleufis which had been overwhelmed by ardeluger But in the very early ages we find the fame names given to various places, often widely distant a reincumstance probably owing to the frequency, and extent of migration, while the variety of language over the world was little. Thus, befide the Bootian Thebes and the wast capital of Upper Egypt) there were towns of the same name in Pamphyliab in Mysia and in Theffaly of the name of Lavilla was yet more common through Greece and Afia Minors and beside the Argos in Peloponnesus, there was an Argos in Theffaly, another in Acarhania, and a fourth in Italy Straho fay sothat Boeotia was antiently malled Ogygindin the time of espicing h was that of Argos, with its citadel

Strab. 1.

9. p. 440.

sarista and port of Nauplia, Corinth FILL 13 He adds, that it was then under the government of Cocrops. It is certainly a probable conjecture of the learned Mr. Bryant, that the oriental manner of expression, by which a name in the fingular fignified a people, as Ifrael often meant the whole people descended from the patriarch Israel, may have led to much confusion in Grecian tradition. The name Cecrops, Cranaus, Cad-

Euripides at least to that of Paulanias, one of Eurip. the gates of Thebes in Boeotia was called the Phoen. v., Ogygian gate, and Sophocles calls the city Ogy_ Paufan. 1. gian Thebes botthe early Eichylus gives the Soph.Oed. epither Ogygian to Thebes on the Nile | whence Col. v. it feelns most likely that Egypt was its original Aschyl. colintry south lo venuo bandothe and abreath Perf.v.39.

With Ogyges, however, even rumor of evenes in Attica ceasesy till Cecrops became prince of the province; leading thither, according to the most received and probable accounts a colony 1080. N. from Egypt. be According to every account, he found the natives a wild and ignorant people; a circumftance, however, far from adverse to his purpose of forming a settlement of The country alfo, cho not offering the most alluring prospect to the vulgar covetouinels of the age, was vet? rolthe more informed and penetrating eye, far from uninvitinged On the verge of a plain, watered by two finall ftreams, a haven prefent? ed littlelf of commodious for the veffels of the time Between the streams, near their june tions and about three miles from the there, a rocks writing nearly perpendicular on all fides! hadrevery advantage for a forrified pofti Pred enely this union of circumstances was what the darly Greeks most defired for the figuation of ra cityin Such was that of Argos, with its citadel Larissa and port of Nauplia, Corinth, with the Actocorinthes and port of Lechaum, the oriental manner of expression, by which a name in the

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Blonyl, Perf. v. 39.

CHAP, and many others; and Edinborough, with its castle-rock and its port of Leith, affords a perfect exemplification of it. Mountains, but not of that formidable height common through Greece, at some distance surrounded the plain; which, the not of the first fertility, appeared vet not adverse to cultivation. Cecrops occupied the rock, and, how far by force, how far by perfualion, we are not informed, he extended his dominion over the whole tract afterward called Attica. He divided this territory into twelve districts, with a principal town, or rather perhaps village, in each, where he caused justice to be administered according to some falutary laws which he established; and he taught his fubjects a more regular and effectual mode of defence against the incursions of the Bootians, their only neighbours, from which even their poverty did not exempt them; for in all times neighbour and enemy have, in the language of politics, been nearly fynonymous. The fortress, which he made his refidence, was from his own name called Cecropia, and was peculiarly recommended to the patronage of the Egyptian goddess, whom the Greeks worship ped by the name of Athena, and the Latins of Minerva. Many, induced by the neighbourhood of the port, and expecting fecurity both from the fortrefs and from its tutelary delty, erected their habitations around the foot of the rock; and thus arose early a considerable town which, from the name of the goddess, was called

Stab. 1. 9. p. 397. Plutarch. Thef.

lint.

led Athenai, or, as we after the French have SECT. corrupted it, ATHENS. Innanga inna store the

This account of the rife of Athens, and of the origin of its government, the possibly a village, and even a fortrefs, may have existed there before Cecrops, is supported by a more generalconcurrence of traditionary testimony, and more complete confonancy to the rest of history, than is often found for that remote age 24. The fublour lange dipa lour and nation of the lequent

the of hundred and also spirits 24 In an ingenious differtation on Grecian mythology, by Dr. S. Mulgrave, it has been endeavoured to prove that Cecrops was a native Greek, and that the religion of Athens was not derived from Egypt. Other works, however, of deeper inquiry, ahundantly support, the contrary position; particularly Blackwell's Life of Homer, Monboddo on Language, Bryant's Antient Mythology (1), Pownall on the Study of Antiquities, and Recherches fur l'Origine & les Progrès des Arts de la Gréce. That the Athenians were a mixed people, we learn not only from many passages of Herodotus, scarcely to be questioned, but also from the direct testimony of Thucydides, which must be esteemed unquestionable. The early communication between Greece and Egypt is also established beyond contradiction; and that this intercourse operated powerfully upon Grecian religion is not reafonably to be doubted. Herodotus expressly mentions not only the belief of gods, but the practice of religious ceremonies imported from Egypt into Greece, and in his time performed in the fame manner in both countries (2). We may easily conceive Attic vanity, in later times, hurt by the idea that the founder of Athens was an Egyptian, and that even their tutelary deity. whom the Athenians were fond of esteeming their peculiar protectress, was borrowed. Both facts militated with their title of Autochthones, which, in the decline of their glory, comparing themselves with the numerous Grecian states of later same, and colonies of known date, the flattery of their orators taught them vainly to assume. But Thuoydides, if he had any respect for that title, had certainly no faith in it; and when Herodotus, Plato, Strabo, and Diodorus, who all travelled into Egypt purpofely to inform themselves upon such subjects, agree in representing the

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⁽¹⁾ See particularly vol. I. p. 183. (2) Herod. 1. s. c. 171. Athenian

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CHAP. feturenus ditto annais base, dan dela daziafactory. Strabo declines the endesyound reconcile their broth flenois and Pluingchigites a front picture of the uncertainties and voids which ocduried torkind in attenuating toofdrama history fromothemn akwasageographers; she saysy tin tothe outer parts of their maps, diftinguish those Accountsies bwhich slienbeyond their knowlege with Aucholomarks as bhefe, All here is dry and defere fand, or marth dabkefied with perpetual fog, or Scythian cold or frozen fear To of the earliest history we may fay, Allbheretis monfrous and tragical dands occupied worly by poets and fabulifts inol fichis apology was neceffary, even from Plutarch ofor fuelt an account as could in his time be collected of the life of Thefeus, none can now betwenting for omitting all disquisition concerning the four or feven kings, for even their number is notafcertained who are faid to have governed Attica from Cecrops to Ægeus, father of that hero. T The land of Amphicty on indeed, whole hame werfind in the lift, excites a reasonable ouribity: but as it is not in his government of Athens that he is particularly an object of history farthebemention continuiting documnoneadyancrops were no longer equalstacked vibrosses wars arole: the country was invaded by

> Athenian Minerva as the land godines poculiarly wordlipped at Saïs in Egypt, it does not appear what can authorize a modern to controvert it. Abnaios d'arra mai ra al la procession de rabiologo, oute nal ripi rous 9,000; solla yap run ginnar lipur sapoligarro. Strab. 1. 10. p. 471. Various,

particularly vol. I. p. 184.

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Vimbutchundertain, and amperfort then as the SECT. accounts were whintopassed to posterity tondernbruille demons switchingchiet Acylecherout mai byo Thudydideny than Astica was the province of Thucyd. Goesce an which population first became fettled. and where the carbied progress was made toward dividigation in Beingmearly peningular oit lay out worn the inbade of emigrants and awandering freebooters by land, land its speky foil, fupporting few cattle, bafforded finall temptation to eithere of her producet of tillage was of less easy removal; raridithe gains of commerce were fepured within fortifications in Attibas therefore grewwoopolous, znot lonly through the fafety which thomatives thus enjoyed, but by a confluched of flumgers from other parts of Greece: for whenseither forein invation or insectine broil occasioned anywhereothe necessity of emigration ather principal people commonly referted to Athenshas the only place of permanent fecurity, and whole forangers of character pable by their wealth buitheib ingenuity to support thenselves Thucyd. and dienofit the community, were cafily admitandito the privilege of citizens son at it as the -isBut, as population increased, the simple forms ofigovernment and juriforudence affablished by Thucyd. Cecrops were no longer equal to their purpose. 1. 2. c. 15. Civil wars arose: the country was invaded by v. 158. feequirechtheus called by later authors Erich-nath. p.

cording to some not improbable reports, a fe-

Earth, acquired the fovereinty, bringing, ac- 1. 1. c. 29.

B. C. 1035. N. 1487. B. Lycurg. con. Leocr. p. 201. t. 4. Or. Gr. Reiske, Strab. 1. B. C. 994. N.

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cond colony from Egypt 15. Eumolpus, with a body of Thracians, about the same time established himself in Eleusis. When, a generation or two later, Ægeus, cotemporary with Minos, fucceeded his father Pandion in the throne, the country feems to have been well peopled, but the government ill-constituted and weak. Con-7. p. 321. Paufan. 1. cerning this prince, however, and his immediate fucceffor, tradition is more ample; and, tho abundantly mixed with fable, yet in many in-1283. B. stances apparently more authentic than concerning any other persons of their remote age. Plutarch has thought a history of Theseus, son of Ægeus, not unfit to hold a place among his parallel lives of the great men of Greece and Rome; and we find his account warranted, in of the main hard fore many country and the control of the control

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²⁵ It is clear, as Sir Ifaac Newton has observed, that Homer describes (1) under the name of Erechtheus, the same prince whom the chronologers, and even Paufanias, would diffinguish from Erechtheus by the name of Erichthonius. The name of Erichthonius, as an Athenian, is mentioned by Plato (4); but with no more authority for inferting it in the lift of Athenian kings, than the name of Erifichthon, which occurs in the fame passage. On the contrary, as Newton has farther justly observed (3), Plato himself has called that prince Erechtheus, whom here writers call Erichthonius. Nor is there any appearance of the fecond Cecrops and the second Pandion being known to the earlier Grecian writers, or even to Trogus Pompeius, if we may trink his epitomizer (4). Hocrates fays that Brichthonins, fon of Vulcan and the Earth succeeded Cecrops, who died without male iffue (5), and the Paulanias thought he had discovered authority for them, yet the very manner in which he relates the fuccession of Athenian kings shows that what he reports was before little known, and remained for him, in a very late age, to investigate.

⁽¹⁾ Iliad. 1. 2. v. 547. (2) Critias. p. 110. t. g. ed. Serran. (3) Chronol, p. 144. (4) Juftin. l. q. c. 6. (5) Isocr. Panathen. p. 510.

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many points, by ftrong corresponding tefti. SECT. mony from other antient authors of various ages. The period also is so important in the annals of Attica, and the accounts remaining altogether go fo far to illustrate the manners and circumstances of the times, that it may be proper to allow them fome fcope in narration.

Ægeus, king of Athens, tho an able and spirited prince, yet, in the divided and diforderly flate of his country, with difficulty maintained his fituation. When past the prime of life he Plut. had the misfortune to remain childless, tho twice married; and a faction headed by his apparent heirs, the numerous fons of Pallas his younger brother, gave him unceasing difturbance. Thus urged he went to Delphi to implore information from the oracle how the bleffing of children might be obtained. Receiving an answer which, like most of the oracular responses, was unintelligible 26, his next concern was to find fome person capable of explaining to him the will of the deity thus mysteriously declared. Among the many establishments which Pelops had procured for his family throughout Peloponnesus, was the small town and territory of Træzen, on the coast opposite to Athens, which he put under the government of his fon Pittheus. To this prince Ægeus applied. He was not only in his own age eminent for wifdom, but his reputation remained even in the most flourishing period

²⁶ none & Aoflag, dodt, anorapile. Lucian. vit. auct.

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CHAP.

of Grecian philosophy; yet so little was he superior to the ridiculous and often detestable superstition of his times that In consequence of some fancied meaning in the oracle mwhich even the Superstinious Plutarchotonfessesshimfelf unable to comprehend, he introduced his own daughter Athra to an illicit commence ustomed to consider modern maken Thetiw

C. 6.

Justin.1.2. Before Georops, if we may believe traditions very generally received in the polithed ages, the people of Attina were in knowlege land civilization below the wildest divager difcovered in modern times of The most breensary arts, and the most indispensable regulations of fociety were unknown to them in Marriage was introduced by Cecrops the culture of corninis Haid to bhave been sof laten idate. But, the colonies from Egyptil Phenicia, and Thrace quickly made the Atticans a new people At a period far beyond connected hiftory we find all the principal oriental dendes and maxims of fociety firmly offablished ustrong them. bullarriage was theld highlynifacred for virginity in my ferious respect; infidelity in a wife deeply difgraceful; but concubinage for the bufband as lawful as it was common; Baftardy little or no flain upon children; and polygamy, apparently, and divorces were equally unknown, and Argeus hading swife the principle knife equally and a weapon. Plutarch, who is not always fo

Disabout accuracy, in defections the doctor of the week of the organization of the week of the organization of the week of the capture of the salver of the

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time of his vifit to Pitthous and marriage SECT. femiliant occasion to have been intended by morpalty TEthra, however, proved fliortly preghant, while the affairs of Attica, in the utmost confusion, required the immediate retorn of Egeus. His departure from Træzen Plutarch. is marked by an action which, to perfons ac- Thef. customed to confider modern manners only, 1. 1. c. 27. may appear unfit to be related but in a fable. yer is for conforant to the manners of the times, ands for tharacteristical of them, as to demand the notice of the historian. He led Æthra to fequeficeed foot, where was a small cavity in a rockno Depositing there a hunting-knife 20 and a pair of landals, he covered them with a marble fragment of enormous weight; and then addressing AEthra, 1991f, a faid he, bethe child 'you new bear should prove a boy, let the removal of this flone be one day the proof of his strength when he can effect it, fend him with the tokens underneath to Athens.

Pitcheus well knowing the genius and the degree of linformation of his subjects and fellowbountlymen, thought it not too gross an seconsoly a gradeful; but concubinage for

Tathe Greeks afothe horoin age utually carried two weapons of the word kind, one called sipos, the other waxaway very disterent one from the other, but commonly both rendered in English by the word word. The Xiphos was a large broad-fword; the Machairs way but allurge knifes and used for the purpose of a knife equally and a weapon. Plutarch, who is not always folicitous about accuracy, in describing the depositing of the weapon by Ægeus, calls it the Xiphos: the story which he afterward relates induces the necessity that it should become the Machairs. For authority for the diffinction Homer's Iliad may be feen, b. 3. v. 271. b. 11. v. \$43. and b. 19. v. 252.

impo-

CHAP imposition to report that his daughter was pregnant by the god Poseidon, or, as we usually call him, with the Latins, Neptune, the tutelary deity of the Troegenians. Of fimilar expedient feems indeed to have been often fuccessfully used to cover the disgrace which, even in those days, would otherwise attend fuch irregular amouns in a lady of high rank, the women of lower degree appearated have derived no dishonor from concubinage with their fuperiors. Thefeus was the produce of the fingular connection of Æthra with Ægeus, He was carefully educated under the infraction of his grandfather, and gave early proofs of uncommon vigor both of body and mind. When he had attained manhood, his mother, in pursuance of the injunction of Ægeus, unfolding to him the reality of his parentage, conducted him to the rock where his father's tokens were deposited. He removed the stone which covered them, with a facility fufficiently indicating that superior bodily strengthy so neceffary, in those days, to support the pretenfions of high birth; and, thus incouraged, the recommended to him to carry them to Egeus at Athens. This proposal perfectly fuited the temper and inclination of Thefeus; but when he was farther advised to go by sea on account of the shortness and safety of the passage, piracy being about this time suppressed by the naval power of Minos king of Creete, he positively refused. an shall to san and to

The journey by land was more than four

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times longer, and highly dangerous. That age, SECT. fays Plutarch, produced men of extraordinary dexterity, of extreme fwiftness, of unwearied firength; who used those natural advantages for no good purpose, but placed their injoymentain the commission of infult, outrage, and cruelty; esteeming the commendations beflowed upon modefty, righteoufness, justice, and benevolence, as proceeding from fear to injure or dread of receiving injury, and little becoming the powerful and the bold. Strange as thefe principles may appear, we find them reported by Plato as not obsolete in his time, Plat. de but on the contrary held by many, and even Rep. 1. 2. maintained in disputation. The picture indeed feq. t. a. feems that of all countries, where, with a competency of inhabitants, a regular and vigorous government is wanting. Five centuries ago, it would have fuited England, France, and all western Europe. It agrees so perfectly with all the accounts remaining of early Greece, and particularly those of Homer, whose testimony is unquestionable, and of Thucydides, the most authoritative of any following writer, that we may hence conclude the poetical stories of the golden age, and the reign of Saturn, were not originally Grecian, but derived from the East 29. It remained for the idle learned, of refined and suoinuxuloitenels, and latery of the paffage

is comme about this time suppressed by " Heffod's brazen age (a) to exactly corresponds with Plutarch's account of the age of Theseus, that it feems evidently a description of the same times in the same country. But if the my-

(1) Op & Di. L. 1. v. 142.

GHAP. luxurious times, to imagine that the lavage flate is most favorable to general views among men. The like began to get vigor in the Augustian age: Shorace and Vingil toust is usern tageons for poetry; it was buried under the ruins of the Roman empire, and feems not to have flouristed again till fome time after the revival of dearning in Europe; where, is our western pure, the surbulence of barbarism produced consequences remarkably similar to what had been antiently experienced in Greece. It is amid anarchy and desolation that great virtues.

the logical passes with which it is connected should appear to any to lessen its authority. Homer will abundantly make good the deficiency: a passes in the 18th book of the Odyssee, v. 139, is particularly to the purpose.

bus on the contains deal be many and even

The Gothic yet learned and elegant Muse of Speaker, preferring the real to the imaginary picture, has thus deferred the antient state of our iland.

> The land which warlike Britons now policio, And therein have their mighty simple value. In antique times was falvage wilderiefs.

Ne did it then deferve a misor to have;
Till that the venturous mariner, that way,
Learning his ship from those white nocks to fave,
Which all along the fouthern second thy;
Theoreming unleady wreak and min decay;
For infety's fake that fame his formule unde,
And named it Albion. But later day,
Pinding in it fit ports for these's trade,

But for falant a taking major dataly Of Millians glains and half-bankly major Thursdoor saled geods, nor goodiest out; Dat, Mir wild beats, furning in lastificate dea

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virtues, as well as greet vices, have the ftrong. SECT. quene apportu Winte governm outrages, individuals generously underrook glorious talk. Afterward focieties were formed for the purpole. Thus arole the leallan republi Robertlies, the free cities of Germany, and the cor- trod. to porations throughout Europe; and by the fame the Hist. necessity the several towns of Greece were the Fifth. driven to form themfelves into Independent flates. Through the greatest pare of modern Europe, the feudal fubordination had efficacy enough to keep the otherwise disjointed members of the feveral great kingdoms united under one head; till the progress of civilization and science enabled legislation to form of the whole one harmonized and vigorous body. In Greece, such a bond of union being wanting, every town fought absolute independency as effential to freedom and equal government. In modern Italy also which in some material circumstances of the feudal connection, dif-Ste had in these deferre infrages til flight

And flying fait as roebuck through the fen, All maked, without hame or care of cold, By hunting and by spoining lived then;
Of stature huge, and she of courage body.
That some of men annual their stemants to behalf.
They held this land.

They held this land. From royal stock of old Assarac's line Driven by that error, here unived, and them or their solution possess depression approximation of the control o And them of their

VOL. I.

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CHAP. fered from the rest of Europe, independency was ardently defired by the commonwealths. and they attained it. The age of Thefeus was the great era of those heroes, to whom the knights errant of the Gothic kingdoms afterward bore a close resemblance. Hercules was his near relation. The actions of that extraordinary personage had been for some years the subject of universal conversation, and were Plut. vit. both an incentive and a direction to young Thefeus in the road to fame. After having destroyed the most powerful and atrocious freebooters throughout Greece, Hercules was, according to Plutarch, now gone into Asia; and those disturbers of civil order, whom his irrefiftible might and fevere justice had driven to conceal themselves, took advantage of his abfence to renew their violences. Being not obfcure and vagabond thieves, but powerful chieftains, who openly defied law and government, the dangers to be expected from them were well known at Troezen. Thefeus, how-

Plut. vit. Thef. Thucyd. 1. 1. c. 5.

> high birth by actions worthy of it. Thus determined, he began his journey, with

> ever, persevered in his resolution to go by land: alledging that it would be shameful, if,

> while Hercules was traverling land and feas to

repress the common disturbers of mankind, he

should avoid those at his door; disgracing his

reputed father by an ignominious flight over

his own element, and carrying to his real fa-

ther, for tokens, a bloodless weapon, and san-

dals untrodden, instead of giving proofs of his

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what attendants we are not informed. He had not, however, proceeded far, before he had occasion to exercise his valor. Periphetes was a chief of the Epidaurian mountains, famous for his robberies. Attacking Theseus, he fell by his hand. The Corinthian isthmus was a fpot particularly favorable to the purpose of freebooters. Simmis, who had his station there, also attacked Theseus, and was slain. The neighbourhood of Crommyon, on the isthmus, was infested by a wild fow of enormous fize and uncommon fierceness; or, as some have reported, by a female leader of robbers, whose gross manners procured her the appellation of The name Phæa, attributed to her by both, seems to favor the latter opinion. Whatever the pest was, Theseus has the credit of having delivered the country from it. Proceeding in his journey along the mountainous Strab. 1. 9. coast of the Saronic gulph, he still found every P. 391. fastness occupied by men, who, like many of c. 61. the old barons of the western European king- Thes. doms, gave protection to their dependents, and Pausan. 1. disturbance to all beside within their reach, 1. 3. c. 1. making booty of whatever they could master. His valor, however, and his good fortune procured him the advantage in every contest, and carried him fafe through all dangers, tho he found nothing friendly till he arrived on the bank of the river Cephifus, in the middle of Attica. There he met some people of the country, who faluted him in the usual terms of friendship to strangers. Judging himself then F 2

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CHAP. past the perils of his jonrney, he requested to have the accustomed ceremony of purification from blood performed upon him, that he might with propriety join in facrifices and other religious rites. The courteous Atticans readily complied, and afterward entertained him at their houses. An antient altar commemorating this meeting, and dedicated to Jupiter, with the epithet of Meilichius, the friendly or kind, remained to the time of Paufanias 31.

Paufan. 1. r. c. 37. Plutarch. Thef.

> When Thefeus arrived at Athens, Ægeus, already approaching dotage, was governed by the Colchian princess Medeia, so famous in poetry, who, in her flight from Corinth had prevailed on him to afford her protection. At the instigation of that abandoned woman, Thefeus, as an illustrious but dangetous stranger, was invited to a feast, where it was proposed to poison him; but on drawing his hunting-knife, as it feems was usual, to carve the meat before him, he was recognized by Ægeus. The old king, embracing his fon, acknowleged him before the company, and fummoning an affembly of the people, prefented Theseus as their prince. The heroic youth, the fame of whose exploits, so fuited to acquire popularity in that age, had already prepoffessed the people in his favour, was received with warm tokens of general fatisfaction. But the party of the fons of Pallas was

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³¹ Paulanias travelled through Greece in the reign of Antoninus Pius, who fucceeded to the Roman empire in the year after Chrift 151.

powerful; their disappointment was equally SECT. great and unexpected; and no hope remaining to accomplish their wishes by other means, they withdrew from the city, collected their adherents, and returned in arms. The tide of popular inclination, however, now ran fo violently toward Thefeus, that some even of their confidents were drawn away with it. A defign which they had formed to furprize the city was discovered to their adversaries; part of their troops were in consequence cut off; the rest dispersed, and the faction was completely quelled.

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Quiet being thus restored to Athens, Thefeus fought every opportunity to increase the popularity he had acquired. Military fame was the mean to which his active spirit chiefly. inclined him; but, as the state had now no enemies, he exercised his valor in the destruction of wild beafts, and added not a little to his reputation by delivering the country from a favage bull, which had done great mischief in the neighbourhood of Marathon. Report Isocrat. went, congenial to the superstition of the age, Helen.enthat this furious animal was the minister of Diod. 1.4. yengeance of the god Neptune against the peo- Plutarch. ple of Attica. Theseus took him alive, and, Thes. Pausan. 1. after leading him in procession through the 1. c. 27. city, facrificed him to Minerva 32. If these

³² Diodorus fays, to Apollo, and he is followed by Plutarch. It is of little consequence upon this occasion; only it may be observed that Pausanias is generally better authority than either; more accurate than Plutarch, and more judicious than Diodorus.

CHAP. anecdotes were no otherwise worthy of notice, they tend at least to characterize the times, and to mark the circumstances which gave that great estimation to bodily ability and personal But there feems another view in which they are not wholly undeferving attention. In this age, and particularly in this country, where happily wild beafts dangerous to man are strangers, we are apt to look upon frories of destructive bulls and boars as ridiculous fables. Yet the testimony which Herodotus gives to the authenticity of them, in the first book of his history, must be allowed a very strong one. He tells us that, not long before the age in which himself lived, the Mysians, then subjects of Croefus, king of Lydia, fent a formal deputation to their monarch to request his affiftance against a monstrous boar, which made great ravages in their fields; and, in their feveral attempts to destroy him, had done them mischief but received none. How far indeed boars were terrible animals, we may judge from a passage in Hesiod's Shield of Hercules, where they are described fighting with lions, and nearly equal in the combat. But fire-arms give us, in these times, a superiority over the brute creation, which men in the early age were far from possessing. To this day, when tiger shows, himself about the villages of the unwarlike inhabitants of India, they apply to Europeans, if any are near, for affiftance, as against an enemy which themselves are unable to cope with.

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An opportunity, however, foon offered for SECT. Thefeus to do his country more effential fervice, and to acquire more illustrious fame. Plutarch. The Athenians, in a war with Minos, king of Plat. de Crete, had been reduced to purchase peace of Leg. 1. 4.
that powerful monarch by a yearly tribute of ed. Serran.
Isocrat. feven youths and as many virgins. Coined Helen.enmoney was not common till fome centuries com. Paufan. after his age; and flaves and cattle were not 1. 1. c. 27. only the principal riches, but the most commodious and usual standards by which the value of other things was determined. A tribute of flaves, therefore, was perhaps the most convenient that Minos could impose; Attica maintaining few cattle, and those being less eafily transported. The burthen was, however, borne with much uneafiness by the Athenians; and the return of the Cretan ship at the usual time to demand the tribute, excited fresh and loud murmurs against the government of Ægeus. Thefeus took an extraordinary step, but perfectly fuitable to the heroic character which he affected, for appealing the popular discontent. The tributary youths and virgins had been hitherto drawn by lot from the body of the people. He voluntarily offered himself as one of them. Report went that those unfortunate victims were thrown into the famous Labyrinth built by Dædalus, and there devoured by the Minotaur, a monster, half-man

and half-bull. This fable was probably no in-

vention of the poets who embellished it in

more polished ages: it is likely enough to have F 4

been

CHAP.

been devised at the very time we are treating of, and is not too preposterous even to have found credit among a people of an imagination fo lively, and a judgement fo uninformed, as were then the Athenians. The offer of Thefeus, therefore, really magnanimous, appeared thus an unparalleled effort of patriotic heroism. Antient writers, who have endeavoured to inveftigate truth among the intricacies of fabulous tradition, tell us that the Labyrinth was a fortress where prisoners were usually kept, and that a Cretan general, its governor, named Taurus, which in Greek fignifies a bull, gave rise to the fiction of the Minotaur. There appears, however, fufficient testimony that Thefeus was received by Minos more agreeably to the character of a great and generous prince, than of a tyrant who gave his captives to be devoured by monsters. But during this the flourishing age of Crete, letters were, if at all known, little used in Greece. In aftertimes, when the Athenians bore the fway in literature, their tragedians took up the popular prejudices against Minos, whose character they vilified Plutarch. on every opportunity; infomuch that, as Plutarch observes, the eulogies of the elder poets, Homer and Hefiod, in the end availed his reputation little. The particulars of the adventures of Theseus in Crete, and of his return to Athens have thus been fo difguifed, that even to guess at the truth is difficult. The most obvious and natural interpretation of the short Odyff.1.9. and rather obscure passage in which Homer,

Thef. & Plat. Minos.

V. 320.

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our best guide for these early ages, has men- SECT. tioned them, feems to be this: Minos, furprized probably at the arrival of the Athenian prince among the tributary flaves, received him honorably, became partial to his merit, and, after some experience of it, gave him his daughter Ariadnë in marriage. In the voyage to Athens, the princess was taken with sudden fickness; and, being landed in the iland of Naxos, where Bacchus was esteemed the tutelary deity, she died there. If we add the supposition that Theseus, eager to communicate the news of his extraordinary fuccess, proceeded on his voyage while the princess was yet living, no farther foundation would be wanting for the fables which have made thefe names so familiar. What alone we learn with any certainty from Athenian tradition is, that Thefeus freed his country from farther payment of the ignominious and cruel tribute.

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This atchievement, by whatfoever means effected, was fo bold in the undertaking, fo complete in the fuccefs, fo important and fo interefting in the confequences, that it defervedly raifed Thefeus to the highest popularity among the Athenians. Sacrifices and processions were instituted in honor of it, and were continued while the Pagan religion had existence in Athens. The veffel in which he made his voy- Plat. Phæage was fent yearly in folemn pomp to the fa- don. p. 58. cred iland of Delos, where rites of thankfgiv_ Serran. ing were performed to Apollo. Through the extreme veneration in which it was held it was

CHAP. fo anxiously preserved, that in Plato's time it was faid to be ftill the fame veffel; the at length its frequent repairs gave occasion to the dispute, which became famous among the sophifts, whether it was or was not still the same. On the death of Ægeus, Theseus succeeded to the fovereinty with general approbation; and showed himself not less capable of improving the state by his wisdom, than of defending it by his valor. The twelve diffricts into which l. 2. c. 15. Strab. l.9. Cecrops had divided Attica, were become fo many independent commonwealths, with fcarcely any bond of union but their acknowlegement of one chief, whose authority was not always fufficient to keep them from mutual hostilities. The inconveniencies of fuch a constitution were great and obvious, but the remedy full of difficulty. Theseus, however, undertook it, and effected that change which laid the founde Vanat. dation of the future glory of Athens, while it ranks him among the most illustrious patriots that adorn the annals of mankind. He first went through every district, and, by persuasion or authority, fettled every difagreement fubfifting between them. Then he proposed the abolition of all the independent magistracies, councils, and courts of justice, and the subflitution of one common council of legislation, and one common system of judicature. The lower people readily came into his measures. The rich and powerful, who shared among

> them the independent magistracies, were more inclined to opposition. To satisfy these, there-

> > fore,

Thucyd. Xenoph.

Thucyd.

p. 397. Plutarch.

Thef.

1. 2. c. 15. C. I. Ifocrat. Helen. encom. Plutarch. Thef.

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fore, he offered, with a difinterestedness of SECT. which history affords few examples, to give up much of his own power; and appropriating to himself only the cares and dangers of royalty, Isocr. Heto share with his people authority, honor, len. enwealth, all that is commonly most valued in it. Plutarch. Few were inclined to refift to equitable and generous a proposal: the most felish and most obstinate dared not. Theseus therefore proceeded quietly to new-model the commonwealth.

He began with the discolution of all the in- Thucyd. dependent councils and priffictions in the fe- 1. 2. c. 15. veral towns and diffricts and the removal of Thef. all public business to Athens; where he built a 968. N. council-hall and courts of justice, in the place 1234. B. (fays Plutarch, who wrote about the beginning of the second century of the Christian era) where they now ftand. This was the improvement of most obvious advantage; his next measure has at least the appearance of a deeper policy. Having observed that sense of weakness natural to all mankind, which induces them to look up to fome superior being, known or unknown, for protection 33; having remarked the effects, on the minds of his fellowcountrymen, of the various opinions held among them upon this univerfally interesting subject; having probably adverted particularly to their fuperstitious attachment to the imaginary deities esteemed peculiarly tutelar of the respective

⁻Harles di Sem gariour andpores. Odyff. 1. 3. vi 480

Thucyd. 1. a. c. 15. Plutarch. Thef.

CHAP. towns; he wifely judged that the civil union, of happily effected, would be incomplete, or at least unstable, if he did not cement it by an equal union in religious concerns. It feems to have been with these views that he instituted one common feast and facrifice, in honor of the goddess Athena, or Minerva, for all the inhabitants of Attica. This feast he called Panathenæa, the feast of all the Athenians or people of Minerva; and thenceforward, apparently, all the inhabitants of Attica, esteeming themselves unitedly under the particular protection of that goddess, uniformly distinguished themselves by a name formed from hers: for they were before variously called, from their race, Ionians; from their country, Atticans; or from their princes, Cranains, Cecropians, or Erechtheids 34. To this scheme of union,

> 34 Herodotus reports, that the original inhabitants of Attica were of the Pelasgian hord, and distinguished by the name of Cranaans (1); that when Cecrops became prince of the country, his fubjects were called, from his name, Cecropians; and that under the reign of Erechtheus the name of Athenians first obtained. But it has been generally held by later writers, that Cranaus succeeded Cecrops in the throne of Attica; and that from him the people must have had the name of Cranaans, as they afterward sometimes bore that of Erechtheids from Erechtheus. Hence the modern learned have supposed a fault in the copies of Herodotus, and have proposed ingenious amendments (2). Perhaps, however, we had better leave the copies of Herodotus as we find them, and pay a little more attention to an expression of Strabo, where he is treating of the early history of Attica, "Oirs di vin Artida συγγράψαιτες πολλά διαφωιούντες, Strab. l. 9. p. 392.

⁽¹⁾ Herodot. 1. 8. c. 44. c. 44. note 74, 75.

⁽²⁾ See Weffeling's Herodotus, b. 7.

conceived with a depth of judgement, and executed with a moderation of temper, so little to be expected in that age, the Athenians may Xenoph. de Venat. well be faid to owe all their after greatness. c. r. Without it Attica, like the adjoining province of Bœotia, would probably have contained feveral little republics, united only in name; each too weak to preserve dignity, or even to fecure independency to its feparate government; and possessing nothing fo much in common as occasions for perpetual disagreement.

SECT.

Plutarch attributes to Thefeus the honor of having been the first prince ever known to have refigned absolute power with the noble purpose to establish a free government. All early tradition, however, and even the narration of Plutarch himfelf, shows that the Attic monarchs, whatever they might arrograte, were far from possessing absolute power; and from the more accurate Strabo it appears, as indeed from every account of the Cretan constitution, that Minos has the fairer claim to preeminence in patriotic glory. It is emphatically faid by Strabo, that the Cretan lawgiver feems to have strab. 1. proposed the liberty of the subject as the great 10. p. 480. object of his institutions; and much of the noble liberality of Theseus's system has probably been derived from the Cretan fource. It may have been on better foundation afferted by Plutarch, that Theseus was the first Grecian lawgiver who established a distinction of ranks; tho even this is contradicted by Strabo, who strab. 1. fays that Ion, fon of Xuthus, had before divi- 8. p. 383.

CHAP, ded the people of Attica nearly in the manner afcribed by Plutarch to Thefeus. The age and actions of Ion are, however, of very uncertain historical evidence; and, except in Egypt, we are little affured of the existence of any such political arrangement before Theseus. Under that prince something of the kind became the more necessary, according to Plutarch, from the number of strangers who, in consequence of public incouragement, reforted to Athens, and, conformably to antient custom, were admitted to the rights of citizens. The whole commonwealth was therefore divided into three classes; nobility, husbandmen, and artificers. The executive and judicial powers, with the fuperintendency of religion, were appropriated

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Thucyd. l. I. C. 2.

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zens. When his improvements were completed, Theseus, according to the policy which became usual for giving authority to great innovations and all uncommon undertakings, is faid to have procured a declaration of divine approbation from the prophetical shrine of Delphi.

to the former. A share in the legislature, extended to all, infured civil freedom to all; and

no distinction prevailed, as in every other Gre-

cian province, between the people of the capital, and those of the inferior towns, but all

were united, under the Athenian name, in the

injoyment of every privilege of Athenian citi-

Thus the province of Attica, containing a triangular tract of land with two fides near fixty miles long, and the third near forty, was molded

molded into a well-united and well-regulated SECT. commonwealth, whose chief magistrate was yet hereditary, and retained the title of king. In consequence of so improved a state of things, the Athenians began, the first of all the Greeks, Thucyd. to acquire more civilized manners. Thucydides particularly remarks that they were the first who dropped the practice, formerly general among the Greeks, of going constantly armed: and who introduced a civil drefs in contradistinction to the military. This innovation, if it was not introduced by Theseus, appears to have taken place very foon after him, fince it feems to have struck Homer, who marks the Athenians by the appellation of longrobed Ionians 35. If we may credit Plutarch, Thefeus coined money, which was certainly rare in Greece two centuries after.

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The rest of the history of Theseus affords little worthy of notice. It is composed of a number of the wildest adventures, many of them confistent enough with the character of the times, but very little fo with what is related of the former part of his life. It feems indeed as if historians had inverted the order of things; giving to his riper years the extrava-

³⁵ Laone ingravue, Iliad, l. 13. v. 685. We may wonder that the commentators on Homer, and particularly that Mr. Wood should have been at any loss to apply this name IAGNES; for the Scholiast says that the Athenians are meant by it: he is supported by Strabo, b. 9, p. 392. and if there could be any doubt of their authority, it would be removed by the use which Æschylus has made of exactly the same name, calling Attica labrur gir. Perf. p. 133. ed. H. Steph.

gance of his youth, after having attributed to his earliest manhood what the maturest age has feldom equalled. He is faid to mave lott, in the end, all favor and air authority among the Athenians, and to have died in exile. After him Menestheus, a person of the royal family, acquired the lovereinty, or at least the first magistracy with the title of king, and command-Homer.

M. l. s. v. ed the Athenian troops in the Trojan war. 552.

SECTION IV.

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Early People of Afia Minor and Thrace. Origin and Progress of the Trojan State. Licentrous Manners of the early Ages. Early Hofitaties between Greece and Asia. Expedition of Paris: Rape of Helen: League of the Grecian Princes: Sacrifice of Iphigeneia: Difficulties of the Greeks in the Trojan War: Troy taken: Return of the Greeks: Consequences of their absence : Man nation of Agamemnon. Credit due to combistorical evidence. Refemblance of the War to circumstances in modern billion

IT appears, from a firing conce circumftances recorded by ancient the early inhabitants of A ha Minor Greece, were the fame people. Iliad. 1. 5. Caucones, and Telafgians, commented by

V. 429. mer among the Amatic mercus, ar

by Strabo as the principal names among the Strab. 1. 7. p. 321. whom at the fame time he calls Barbarians, who T

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cupied Greece. Homer Illad I. s. Thampris contending in V. 595. & in Peloponnefus. But the P. 350. g to Hefi d the whole Thracian Helych. antient writers, inch name; the general name; with e exientals, for the Greek nation. Hero- Herodot. dotus afferts that the antient hymns fung at the Paufan h feftival of Apollo at Delos, were composed by O- 1. c. 18. 1. len, a Lycian; and Paufanias fays that the hymns 5. c. 7. l. of Oten the Lycian were the oldest known to the & l. 10. ... ele, and that Olen the Hyperborean, who feems so have been the fame person, was the of the Grecian hexameter verse. It reflary inference that the language Phones and of Lycia was Greek. The syris and Orpheus were admired tress even in Plato's time: and Plat. de or Thamyras, Orpheus, Leg. 1. s. with the Lycian Olen, p. 829. s of Grecian poe-Serran. recian man-

CHAP. divine, retained the highest reputation, even in Plutarch's time, was a Phrygian . In the Grecian mythology we find continual references to Affatic and Thracian stories; and even in the heroic ages, which followed the myftied the Greeks and Afiatics appear to have communicated as kindred people. Pelops, a fugitive Afiatic prince, acquired a kingdom by marriage in Peloponnefus; and Bellerophon, a prince of Corinth, in the fame manner acquired the kingdom of Lycia, in Afia. Herodotus remarks that the Lydian laws and manners, even in his time, very nearly refembled the Grecian; and the Lycians and Pamphylians were so evidently of the same race with the Greeks, that he supposed them the descendants of emigrants from Crete, from Athens, and other parts of Greece. The inhabitants of Thrace are not distinguished by Homer for that peculiar barbarifm which afterward characterized them: apparently they were upon a level nearly in civilization with the other people around the Ægean. But while Greece, protected by barrier mountains and almost furrounding feas, had neither disturbance nor alarm but from the petty contentions of its own people, Thrace, bordering on a valt extent of continent, the prolific nourisher of the fiercest savages known in history, had other ारत वर्तात कार्याचा वर्षा है। वर्षा के कार्या के क

W: 153. Herod. 1. 1. C. 35 & 73, & 2 94. & 1. 7. C. 91, & 92. Strab. l. 14. p. 668. Paufan. I. 7. C. 3.

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Iliad. 1. 6.

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Daf ruldifficulties to combat. Probably among those SECT. general movements of frations, those many migrations and expulsions which, according to Strabo, followed the Trojan times, the hords Strab. 1. of the northern wilds, pouring down in irreliftible numbers from the flowy heights of His mus and Rhodope, overwhelmed the civilized people of the coast, destroying many driving fome to feek feeurer fettlements elfewhere, and reducing the rest by degrees to their own bar-

monofold section, the happen id and mine implication ASIA MINOR, upon the whole less favorably circumstanced than Greece, was yet far more forminately fituated than Thrace; defended on three fides by feas, and on the fourth communicating by land with those countries whence all civilization came. But the western coast of Afia Minor is universally described as one of the most delicious countries in the world; remarkable for fruitfulness of foil, and particudarly excelling Greece in foftness of climate. The governments formed there, in the earliest times, mostly commanded a greater extent of territory than those of Greece; an advantage which they feem to have owed, not intirely to a higher degree of civilization in the people, but much to the extent of the Afiatic plains, less divided by mountains and seas into small portions with difficulty accessible from each other. But a country fo happy by nature could not, without a polity very superior to what was then common, escape those miseries which the passions or the necessities of mankind were cond ffice tinually

CHAP. timusly occasioning is The coast was nearly deof forted people civilized enough to cultivate the arts of peace withdrew from the rawages of piracy to inland tracts, less fertile and less favored by climate, but where, through the fecturity injoyed, fame confiderable fovereinties appear so have strifen at a very remote periodom vitol The first powerful fettlement upon the coast, of which we are informed, was that of Troy; and the fketch which Homer has left us of the rife of this state, flight as it is and mingled with fable, is yet perhaps the clearest as well as the most genuine picture existing, of the progress of population and political fociety in their approach to Europe Hote The origin of Dardanus, founder of the Trojan state; has been variously related; but we may belt believe the tellimony of Homer to the utter uncertainty of his birth and native country, delivered in the terms That he was the fon of Jupiter ". Thus, however, it appears, that the Greeks not unwillingly acknowledged confanguinity with the Trojans; for many, indeed most of the Greeian heroes also claimed their descent from Jupiter. It is moreover remarkable that, among the many ges nealogies which Homer has transmitted to us which it was known to officially ourse the lives

Iliad. 1. 30. V. 215.

38 Thus it appears Plato thought. See his third Dialogue of

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Legislation, p. 681. vol. 2.

39 Homer feems to have known nothing of Teucer, who is the by Diodorus, and other later writers, to have been the founder of the Trojan state; in the sowereinty of which, according to them, he was succeeded by Dardanus, who married his daughter. Virgil has chosen to abide by Homer's account. Etc. 1. 6. V. 650 tions on the stellers to so the best on more to also

none is traced fo far into antiquity as that of the SECT.

royal family of Troy. Dardanus was ancestor in the fixth degree to Hector, and may thus Iliad. 1. havestired from a hundred and fifty to wwo hundred years before that hero. On one of the many ridges projecting from the foot of the lofty mountain of Ida, in the north-western part of Afia Minor, he founded a town which, Strab. 1. from his own name, was called Dardanian villis 13. p. 583. fituation commanded a narrow but fruitful blank watered by the streams of Simois and Scamander, and firetching from the roots of Ida to the Hellespont northward, and the Ægean fea westward of His fon Erichthonius, who fucceeded himsin the fovereinty of this territory, had the reputation of being the richest man of his age. Much of his wealth feems to have been derived from a large flock of brood mares, to the number | according to the poet, of three thousand, which the fertility of his foil inabled him to maintain, and which, by his care and judgement in the choice of stallions, produced a breed of buries superior to any of the forrounding countries. Trosy fon of Erichthonius, probably extonded mor in fome other way improved the cornors of Dardania; fince the appellation by which it was known to posterity was derived from his name. With the riches the population of the state of course increased. Ilus, son of Plat de Tros; therefore ventured to move his refidence p. 682. from the mountain, and founded, on a rifing Strab. I. ground within the plain beneath, well watered by the streams of Ida, that celebrated city which

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CHAP. was called from his name Ilion, but which is more familiarly known in modern languages by the name of Troy, derived from his father. The temptation however to attack, was augmented in full proportion with the means to defend. Twice, before that war which Homer has made fo famous, Troy is faid to have been Iliad. I. 5. taken and plundered; and for its fecond capture, by Hercules, in the reign of Laomedon fon of Ilus, we have Homer's authority. The government however revived, and still advanced in power and splendor. Laomedon, after his misfortune, fortified his city in a manner fo superior to what was common in his age, that the walls of Troy were faid to be a work of the gods. Under his fon Priam the Trojan state was very flourishing and of confiderable extent; containing under the name of Phrygia, the country afterward called Troas, together with both fhores of the Hellespont, and the large and fertile iland of Lefbos ".

Iliad. 1. 24. C. 544. Strab. 1.

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A frequent communication, fometimes friendly, but oftener hostile; was maintained between the eastern and western coasts of the Ægean sea: each was an object of piracy more than of commerce to the inhabitants of the opposite country. Cattle and flaves constituting the princithe surplies of the storing habitations

Straba (r) diftinguishes the Trojan country by the name of Hellespontine Phrygia. It was divided by Mysia from the large inland tract afterward called Phrygia, whose people are mentioned in Homest Could be a supplied by Mylia from the large ed in Homer's Catalogue as allies of the Trojans coming from afar (2) tion, the party beautiful the

⁽¹⁾ b. v. 13. p. 363. (2) Iliad. l. z. v. 862. Strab. l. 12. p. 564. pal

pal riches of the times, men, women, and chil- SECT. dren, together with swine, sheep, goats, oxen, and horses, were principal objects of plunder. But fcarcely was any crime more common than rapes; and it feems to have been a kind of fash ion, in consequence of which the leaders of piratical expeditions gratified their vanity in the highest degree, when they could carry off a lady of fuperior rank. How usual these outrages were among the Greeks, we may gather from the condition faid to have been exacted by Tyndareus, king of Sparta, father of the celebrated Helen, from the chieftains who came to ask his daughter in marriage; he required of all, as a preliminary, to bind themselves by solema oaths, that, should she be stolen, they would affift with their utmost power to recover her. This tradition, with many other stories of Grecian rapes, on whatfoever founded, indicates with certainty the opinion of the later Greeks, among whom they were popular, concerning the manners of their ancestors ". But it does not follow that the Greeks were more vicious than other people equally unhabituated to conflant, vigorous, and well-regulated exertions of law and government. Equal licentiquiness, but Roberta few centuries ago, prevailed throughout wef- tory of tern Europe. Hence those gloomy habitations Charlesv. of the antient nobility, which excite the wonder of the traveller, particularly in the fouthern

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The flory of the oath required by Tyndareus is mentioned by Thucydides (l. s. c. 9.) in a manner that indicates it to have been both antient and generally received.

CHAP. parter whore in shoopidst of the fack sountries ho often finds them in figuations for very inconvenient, and uncomfortable, except for what was she nithe one great objecty fecurity, that now the houseless person will fearerly go to them for shelper " or From the licentiousness were derived the manners, and even the virtues of the times and hence knight errantry with its whimpigel confequences, of the interesting

Iliad. I. 3. V. 354.

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The expedition of Paris, fon of Priam king of Troy, into Greece, appears to have been a maroding adventure, such as was then usual. We are told indeed, that he was received very hospitably and entertained very kindly by Menelaus, king of Sparta, But this alfo was confenant to the spirit of the simes for hospitality has always been the virtue of barbarous ages: it is at this day no less charges teristical of the wild Arabs than their spirit of robbery; and we know that, in the Scottish Highlands, robbery and hospitality equally flots rished together till very lately. Hospitality; indeed, will be generally found to have flow rished, inddifferent ages and countries byery nearly in proportion to the necessity for it; that miling is, in proportion to the deficiency of juniforue dence, and the weakness of governments . Paris concluded his visit at Sparta with carrying off Helen, wife of Menclaus, together with a Roll siderable treasure: and whether this was effects ed by fraud, or, as some have supposed by

> 4º So it was in the fourth of France, at least before the revolution, when this volume was written. 81150

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open Wistence, le is probable enough that, as SECT. viterollorus relates, it was first concerted, and afterpart supported, in revenge for some fimidar injury done by the Greeks to the Trojans.

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2 An outrage, however, fo grofsly injurious to one of the greatest princes of Greece, especially if attended with a breach of the rights of hospitality, might not unreasonably be urged as a cause requiring the united revenge of all the Gregian chieftains. But there were other motives to ingage them in the quarrel. The hope of returning laden with the spoil of the richer provinces of Afia, was a strong incentive to leaders poor at home, and bred to rapine. The author Thucyd. rity and influence of Agamemnon, king of Af- 1. 1. c. 9. gombrother of Menelaus, were also weighty. The spirit of the age, his own temper, the excent of his power, the natural defire of exerting to on a fplendid occasion, would all incite this prince cagerly to adopt his brother's quarrel. Helis befides represented by character qualified Mograt. recented and command a powerful league; ambindury active, brave, generous, humane, valli, ed. Paris. indeed; and haughty, fometimes to his own the Homer. inty, ver commonly repressing those hurtful Iliad. quadrities and watchful to cultivate popularity! Under this leader all the Grecian chieftathis here the end of Peloponnefus to the end of Hesiod. Theffaly, rogether with Idomeneus from Crete, Op. & Di. and other commanders from fome of the final 269. ler ilands, affembled at Aulis, a fea-port of Bootia. The Acarnanians alone, separated from the rest of Greece by lofty mountains and a sea

Panathen. P. 472. Auger. passim. B. C. 914. N.

CHAP. at that time little navigated, had no share in the expedition of is faid that, the fleet being long detained at Aulis by contrary winds, Agamemnon facrificed his daughter Iphigeneia as a propitiatory offering, to obtain from the gods a fafe and speedy passage to the Trojan coast. Whether this be true or no, the currency of the report, and of others of the fame kind, proves that the Greeks of after-ages believed their ancestors, on momentous occasions, to have made human facrifices 43. It were however injurious to the character of Agamemnon not to mention, that he is faid to have fubmitted to this abominable cruelty with extreme reluctance, and not until compelled by the clamors of the whole army, who were perfuaded that the gods required the victim. It is even afferted that, by a humane fraud, the princess was at last saved, under favor of a report that a fawn was miracu-

Paufan. 1. 9. c. 19.

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prince effective to adopt his broid 43 The facrifice of Polyxena, in the Hecuba of Euripides, is a very remarkable instance. But it should be observed that neither Homer, who enumerates the daughters of Agamemnon (1), nor Hefiod, who mentions the affembling of the forces at Aulis, and their detention by bad weather, fay a word of the facrifice of Iphigeneia, or Iphianassa; for by this name, according to the scholiast, Homer meant the same princess who is called by the tragic poets Iphigeneia. The tradition was however antient; for we find it noticed by Pindar and Æschylus. Pind. Pyth. 2. Æschyl. Agamemnon. p. 220. ed. H. Steph. The kind of subject to far pleased Euripides that he wrote a tragedy, on the facrifice of the daughter of Erechtheus king of Athens, and we find an orator of high rank, in the age of Plato, Aristotle, and Philosophy, recommending this composition, of which a small fragment only now remains, to the admiration of the Athenian people. Lycurg. or. con. Leocr. p. 203, v. 4, Or. Gr. Reifke.

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to tur loufly fent by the goddes Diana, to be facrific SECT. ced in her flead.

The fleet at length had a prosperous voyage. Homer. It confifted of about twelve hundred open vef- Iliad. l. a. fels, each carrying from fifty to a hundred and twenty men. The number of men in the whole armament, computed from the mean of those two numbers mentioned by Homer as the complement of different ships, would be fomething more than a hundred thousand; and Thucy-Thucyd. dides, whose opinion is of the highest authority, tells us that this is within the bounds of probability; tho, as he adds, a poet would go to the utmost of current reports. The army, having made good their landing on the Trojan coast, were so superior to the enemy as to oblige them immediately to feek shelter within the city-walls; but here the operations were at a fland. The hazards to which unfortified and folitary dwellings were exposed from pirates and freebooters, had driven the more peaceable of mankind to affemble in towns for mutual fecurity. To erect lofty walls around those towns for defence, was then an obvious invention, and required little more than labor for the execution. More thought, more art, more experience were necessary for forcing the rudest fortification, if defended with vigilance and courage. But the Trojan walls were fingularly ftrong; Agamemnon's army could make no impression upon them. He was therefore reduced to the method most common for ages after, of turning the fiege into a blockade, and patiently BUILTIA .

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CHAP. waiting till want of necessaries should force the enemy to quit their shelter. But neither did the policy of the times amount, by many degrees to the art of subfishing for numerous an army for any length of time; nor would therevenues of Greece have been equal to it with more knowledge; nor indeed would the flate of things have admitted it, fearcely with any wealth, or by any means of For in countries without commerce, the people providing ofor their own wants only, supplies can never be found equal to the maintenance of a superadded army. No fooner therefore did the Trojans thut themselves within their walls, than the Greeks were obliged to give their principal at tention to the means of fubfifting their numel rous forces. The common method of the times was to ravage the adjacent countries and this they immediately put in practice. But fuch a resource soon destroys itself. To have therefore a more permanent and certain supply, they fent a part of their army to cultivate the vales of the Thracian Chersonese, then abandoned by their inhabitants on account of the frequentiand des fiructive incursions of the wild people who con cupied the interior of that continentay a lo gain Large bodies being thus detached from the army,

the remainder fearcely fufficed to deter the Trob jans from taking the field again, and bould met prevent fuccour and supplies from being carried Homer. & into the town. Thus the fidge was podurated to the enormous length of denovoarso odt man probably their fuccoss in matering murches and

Thucyd. 1. 1. c. 11. Iliad. l. 1. V. 366. 1. 9. V. 329. & 1. 20. V. 91. & 188. Odyff. 1. 3. v. 106. Thucyd. l. r. c. 11.

Plat. de Leg. 1. 3. p. 682.

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indi ing pirating voyages that induced the Greeks to SECT. persevere so long. Achilles is faid to have plundered no less than twelve maritime and ele- Iliad. 1. ven inland towns. Lefbos, then under the do- 9. v. 329. minion of the monarch of Troy, was among his conquests; and the women of that iland were apportioned to the victorious army, as a part of the booty. But thefe circumstances, Iliad. 1. alarming all neighbouring people, contributed 6. v. 129. to procure numerous and powerful allies to the 3. v. 106. Trojans. Not only the Afiatic states, to a great extent eastward and fouthward, fent auxiliary troops, but also the European westward, as far Iliad. 1. as the Pæonians of that country about the river & feq. & Axius, which afterward became Macedonia, Strab. 1. Attlength, in the tenth year of the war, after B. C. great exertions of valor and the Saughter of 904. N. numbers on both fides, among whom were many 1184. B. of the highest rank, Troy yielded to its fate. Yet was it not then overcome by open force: stratagem is reported by Homer: fraud and odyst. 1. treachery have been supposed by later writers. the wasy however, taken and plundered: the venotable monarch was flain: the queen and her daughters together with one only fon remaining of a very numerous male progeny, were led into capitivity; bo According to fome, not only the Pity was totally destroyed, but the very name of the people from that time loft. Others wood on however, and among them Strabo, maintain, on Homer. the authority of Homer himself, whose words 13. p. 608. upon the occasion feem indeed scarcely dubious, Iliad. 1. that Æneas reigned afterward at Troy, and his Xenoph. posterity c. 1. Interior water

Lincout L

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Leg. L. g.

P. 682.

Strab. 1

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posterity after him, for some generations; and they suppose the final destruction of the Trojan fate and name to have taken place in that fubfequent Grecian invasion, of which mention will hereafter occur under the name of the Æolic migration, ton a troof was a thugustastic

Nothing apparently fo much as the poetical elegance of ingenuity, everywhere intermixed with early Grecian history, has driven many to flight it as merely fabulous, who have been disposed to pay great respect to the early history of Rome; giving a credit to the folening adulation of the grave historians of Italyne their own country, which they deny to the fanciful indeed and inaccurate; but furely honest and unflattering accounts remaining of elder Greece: Agamemnon, we are told, triumphed over Troy: and the historical evidence to the fact is large. But the Grecian poets themfelves univerfally acknowlege that it was a dearbought, a mournful triumph. Few of the princes, who furvived to partake of it, could have any injoyment of their hard-earned glory in their native country. None expecting that the war would detain them fo long from home, none had made due provision for the regular administration of their affairs during such an absence. It is indeed probable that the utmost wifdom and forethought would have been unequal to the purpose. For, in the half-formed governments of those days, the constant prefence of the prince, as supreme regulator, was absolutely necessary to keep the whole from pofferisg c running

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Thucyd. 1. 1. C. 12. Plat. de Leg. 1. 3. p. 68a.

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running prefently into utter confusion. Sedia SECT. tions, therefore, and revolutions were almost as numerous as the cities of Greece. Many of the princes were compelled to imbark again with their adherents, to feek fettlements in distant countries, without a hope of revisiting their native foil. A more tragical fate awaited Agamemnon. His queen, Clytemnestra, hav- Odyst. 1. ingogiven her affection to his kinfman Ægif- & al. 36. theus, concurred in a plot against her husband, Plat. Theand the unfortunate monarch, on his return to 124. t. 1. Argos was affaffinated; those of his friends who escaped the massacre, were compelled to fly with his fon Oreftes; and, fo ftrong was the party, which their long pollellion of the government had inabled the confpirators to form, the usurper obtained complete possession of the throne, Orestes found refuge at Athens; where alone, among the Grecian states, there seems to have been a conflitution capable of bearing both the absence and the return of the army and its commander, without any effential derangements language to make notice there all

Sugh were the Trojan war and its confequendes, according to the best of the unconnested and defective accounts remaining, among which those of Homer have always held the first rank. The authority, however, of the great poet as an historian has in modern times been variously estimated. Among the antients fit was lefs questioned. As it is of highest importance to the history of the early ages that it should have its due weight, I will in more mention

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CHAP. mention here some of the circumstances which principally establish its authority: others will occur hereafter. In Homer's age then, it should be remembered, poets were the only historians; from which, the it does not at all follow that poets would always fcrupuloufly adhere to truth, yet it necessarily follows that A 1960 veracity, in historical narration, would make a large there of a poet's merit in public epision a circumfance which the common use of written records, and profe histories, inflanely and toremarkable confidency of Homer's historical anecdores, variously disputed as the among his poetical details and embelli form a fecond and powerful reftime deed the connection and the clearant which Homer has treated, oppear way or ordinary, when compared with the dark and uncertainty that begin in the influes of our lofing his guidance, and continue three In confirmation then of this prefumptive evidence, we have very complete positive proof to the only point that could admit of it, his geography; which has wonderfully food the most scrupulous inquiries from the every way qualified to make them. From thefe, with perhaps other coal lowed, what we may add in the the credit paid to Homer's biffary by the early ones particularly by Thuch

among the later by Strabo. But the very fame SECT. of the principal persons and events celebrated ____ by Homer feems to have led fome to question their reality. Perhaps it may not be an improper digression here to bring anthe reader's recollection a passage in the histornal the Britills ilende bearing to close on analogyers fome of the most remarkable circumstances in Homer's history, that it effords no inconsiderable collected support to the tipoeth authority; as a faithful relact of facts and painters of manners: its like there have were, in the twelfth not uncommunicated an adower have been frequent there flill in our days bor in that og popular opinion was fo fact rable to them. The cycle princes like Jalong of Deise glouist in fuch proofs of their places and price Dermot, king of Leinclearant beauty, wife of O'Ruark, meire and breween force and fraud, he fire tended in carrying her off O'Ruark refented the affront, as might be expected. He procured a confederacy of neighbouring chieftains, with the king of Connaught, the most powerful prince of Ireland par their head. Leinster was bearincess was recovered, and, after considered with various fuccess during parties Demot was expelled from his linguist a The farthe refemblance holds The sequel differs: for tion of the bring had beyond comparison are some of the bring had yet consequences far phone I. H more

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CHAP, more important than the rape of Helen. The fugitive Dermot, deprived of other hope, applied to the powerful monarch of the neighbouring iland, Henry the Second; and in return for affiftance to restore him to his dominions, offered to hold them in vaffalage of the crown of England. The English conquest of Ireland followed **.

> 44 Mr. Hume, in his History of England, has written the name of the heroine of this story OMACH. Dr. Leland's History of Ireland is here followed, with which Mr. Hume's more abridged account, in all material circumstances, sufficiently tallies. Lord Lyttelton, in his History of Henry the Second, both relates the facts and writes the names nearly as Dr. Leland.

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CHAPTER II.

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IAP.

Of the Religion, Government, Jurisprudence, Science, Arts, Commerce, and Manners of the early GREEKS.

SECTION I.

Of the Progress of Things from the East into Greece, and of the Religion of the early Greeks.

HOWEVER less complete than we might wish the historical information remaining from Homer may be, we have yet, from his masterly hand, a finished picture of the manners and principles of his age, domestic as well as political; which, sublime and magnificent as it is in the general outline and composition, descends at the same time to so many minute particulars, as to leave our curiosity scarcely in anything ungratisfied. It belongs not to history to detail every circumstance of this entertaining and instructive tablet, which yet abounds withmatter not to be lest unnoticed.

But, in confidering the first ages of Greece, we find our view continually led toward those earliest seats of empire and of science, which

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CHAP. we usually call collectively the East. And there fo vast and so interesting a field of inquiry prefents itself, yet, like forms in distant landscape, fo confused by aërial tints, and by length and intricacy of perspective, that it is not easy to determine where and how far investigation ought to be attempted, and when precifely the voice of caution should be obeyed, rather than that of curiofity. Certainly to bewilder himfelf will not generally be allowed to the hiftorian as a venial error. Sometimes, however, and without far wandering from well-trodden paths, he may venture to fearch for fome illustration of his subject in that utmost verge of history's horizon.

In all countries, and through all ages, Reli-GION and Civil Government have been fo connected, that no history can be given of either without reference to the other. But in the accounts remaining to us of the earliest times, the attention everywhere paid to religion, the deep interest taken in it, by individuals and by communities, by people polished equally and unpolished, is peculiarly striking. A sense of dependancy on fome fuperior being feems indeed infeparable from man; it is in a manner instinct in him'. His own helplessness, compared with the stupendous powers of nature which he sees constantly exerted around him, makes the savage ever anxiously look for some being of a

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⁻ Πάντες δὶ Θιῶν χατίουο' ἄνθρωποι. Homer. Odysf. 1. 3-

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higher order on whom to rely: and the man SECT. educated to exercise the faculties of his mind, has only to reflect on himself, on his own abilities, his own weakness, his own knowlege, his own ignorance, his own happiness, his own mifery, his own beginning, and his end, to be directed, not only to belief in some superior being, but also to expectation of some future state, through meer conviction that nature hath given him both a great deal more and a great deal less than were necessary to fit him for this alone. Religion, therefore, can never be loft among mankind; but, through the imperfection of our nature, it is so prone to degenerate, that superstition in one state of society, and fcepticism in another, may, perhaps not improperly, be called nature's works. The variety, indeed, and the groffness of the corruptions of religion, from which few pages in the annals of the world are pure, may well on first view excite our wonder. But, if we proceed to inquire after their origin, we find immediately fuch fources in the nature and condition of man, that evidently nothing under a constant miracle could prevent those effects to which the hiftory of all countries in all ages The fears of ignorance, the bears testimony. interest of cunning, the pride of science, have been the mainsprings: every human passion has contributed its addition.

A firm belief, however, both of the existence of a deity, and of the duty of communication with him, appears to have prevailed univerfally

CHAP. Shuckford's Connection of Sacred and Profane History, P. 89.

in the early ages 2. But religion was then the common care of all men; a facerdotal order was unknown: the patriarch, or head of the family, was chief in religious as in civil concerns: a preference to primogeniture feems always to have obtained 3: the eldeft fon fucv. 2. b. 6. ceeded regularly to the right of facrificing, to the right of being priest of the family. When younger fons became fathers of families, they also superintended the domestic religion, each of his own household, and performed the domeftic facrifices; the patriarch and his fuccesfors remaining chief priefts of the tribe. This order of things paffed, remarkably unvaried, to Egypt, to Greece, to Rome, and very generally over the world . But concomitant circumstances differing in different countries, consequences of course differed. In Asia extensive empires seem almost to have grown as population extended. From earliest times the

Aristot. de Mundo, c. 6.

Παρά πάσι άνθρωποις πρώδον νομίζελαι τούς Θρούς σέδειν.

Xen. mem. Soer. 1. 4. c. 4. f. 19.

'Olof' de wesoburigosom Egunus din Troras, Iliad: 1. 15. v. 204.

is the observation of Iris to Neptune.

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^{*} Αρχαιος μέν δον τις λόγος και πάτριός 'ετι, πάσιν ανθρώποις, ώς έκ Θεου τὰ πάθα, καὶ διὰ Θεου, συνές ηκει δυδιμία δι φύσις αυτή καθ ξαυτήν αυτάρκης, ξρημωθεισα της έκ τόυτου σωτηρία:.

³ This it was, according to Homer, that gave Jupiter himself his right of supremacy over his brothers; and the Fates and Furies were the vindicators of that right:

^{*} This subject is treated diffusively, with many references to the Scriptures and to heathen authors, in the fixth book of Shuckford's Connection of Sacred and Profane Hiftory.

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people were accustomed to look up to one family as prefiding over national concerns, religious equally and political, by a hereditary right, partaking, in public opinion, of divine authority. Ideas and habits were thus acquired. congenial to despotic government: and in all the violent revolutions which that large and rich portion of the earth has undergone, the notion of attachment to a particular family, as presiding by divine appointment over both the religious and civil polity of the nation, has prevailed and prevails very extensively to this We have no certain account when or how the facerdotal order of the magians arose, But it is a remarkable circumstance, of which we are informed by the most unsuspicious tef- Herodot. timony, that by far the purest religion known 1.1.6.113. among heathen nations, remained in those countries from which all migration has been supposed to have originated; with extent of wandering, savage ignorance grew.

We are not without information of peculiar causes which made Egypt the great school of superstition, while it was the seat of arts and knowlege. A prodigious population was there confined within a narrow territory; whose furrounding seas and deserts prevented extension of dominion, and checked communication with strangers. A more refined polity than prevailed in Afia, and freer communication of rights, becoming indispensable, the powerful families Diod. Sic. shared with the monarch in the superinten- 1. 1. c. 29. dancy of the national religion. The priesthood

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CHAP. thus, and the nobility of the nation, were one's and, by a fingular policy, professions and callings were made hereditary through all ranks of men; fo that the business of every man's life was unalterably determined by his birth. Priestcraft thus, among the rest, became the inalienable inheritance of particular families; and learning was their exclusive property. Natural wonders, more frequent there than elfewhere, assisted in disposing the people to superflition : while, with fingular interest, to promote it, a facerdotal nobility had fingular means. Thus the superstition of Egypt, rifing to an extravagance unknown in any other country, was also supported by a union of powers that never met elsewhere.

The circumstances of Greece differed very materially. Its inhabitants were long barbarous, often migrating, continually liable to expulsion, and without regular government. Among wandering favages no idea could hold of a divine right inherent in any family to direct either the religious or the civil concerns of others. But if the accounts of Grecian authors are to be believed, the rude natives always readily affociated with any adventurers from the civilized countries of the East. It was not difficult for these to explain the advantages of a fown, where the people might find fafety for

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Diodorus compares the order of priefts in Egypt to the order of nobles, the enpatrids, at Athens.

^{- 5} Τέρατά τι πλέω σφι έυρηται η τδίσι άλλοισι άπασι αιθρώποισι. Herodot. 1. 2.

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fields; and where, meeting occasionally to confult in common, they might provide means for ready exertion of united strength, to repel those evils to which the unconnected inhabitants of scattered villages were perpetually exposed. A man of knowlege and experience must preside in council, and direct the execution of what had been resolved in common. A town thus was built and fortified, a form of government fettled, and an oriental fuperintending was how nored with the title of king. Many of the principal Grecian cities, according to Grecian tradition, had their origin from a concurrence of circumstances like these. Constantly the king exercifed supremacy in religious concerns; 'he was always chief priest'; and he always endeavoured to acquire the reputation of divine authority for all his establishments. But the government being notoriously formed by compact, no idea of indefeafible right, inherent in a foverein family, could readily gain: the compact alone could be supposed or pretended to be divinely authorized. The person of the king had no privilege but by the gift of the people. His civil consequence, therefore, depended upon his abilities and conduct. His religious character was otherwise estimated? not the person or family, but the title and office, were held facred. It is remarkable of West assistance

⁷ See every facrifice in the Iliad and Odyffee; particularly the minute detail of Nestor's sacrifice at Pylus. Odysf. b. 3. v. 404

CHAP. that Athenian and Roman superstition, without any connection between the people, should have agreed fo exactly in the extraordinary circumstance, that after the abolition of royalty among both, and while the very name of king was abhorred as a title of civil magistracy or military command, yet equally the title and the office were fcrupulously retained for the administration of religious ceremonies. It has been obferved that a priesthood was first established among the Jews when their government became a regular commonwealth. Such appropriation of religious functions, if the ministers are confined to their proper object, is perhaps not less advantageous to civil freedom than neceffary to the maintenance of religion.

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Shuckford's Connection. Warburton's Div. Leg.

Herodot.

It was the opinion of Herodotus, that Ho-1. 2. c. 53 mer and Hesiod principally settled the religious tenets of the Greeks; which before them were totally vague, floating about partially as they happened to arise, or to be imported by foreiners, particularly Egyptians: and indeed if ever there was any standard of Grecian orthodoxy, it must be looked for in the works of those two poets. But the very early inhabitants of Greece had a religion far less degenerated from original purity. To this curious and interesting fact abundant testimonies re-They occur in those poems, of uncertain origin and uncertain date, but unquestionably of great antiquity, which are called the poems of Orpheus, or rather the Orphic poems; 16

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poems'; and they are found scattered among SECT. the writings of the philosophers and historians. All the Greek philosophers were aware of the recent origin of that religion which in their time was popular. Plato, among his doubts Plat. Craabout the antient state of things, declares an tyl. p. 397. opinion that, in the early ages, the fun, moon, stars, and earth, had been the only objects of religious worship in Greece, as they were, still in his time, he adds, in most of the barbarous nations. In another part of his works we find recorded a different tradition of a very remarkable tenor. 'ONE GOD,' he fays it was re- Plat. Poported, once governed the universe: but a lit. 269. great and extraordinary change taking place ' in the nature of men and things, infinitely for the worse, (for originally there was perfect ' virtue and perfect happiness upon earth) the ' command then devolved upon Jupiter, with ' many inferior deities, to prefide over diffe-' rent departments, under him.' Here, in the fame tradition, we find the original unity of the Deity afferted, and an account attempted of the beginning of polytheism. Plato declares no opinion of his own upon it. Everything however remaining from him upon religion, and, I think it may be added, upon morality, involves the supposition of unity in the Deity;

Particularly in the Hymn to Jupiter, quoted by Aristotle in the feventh chapter of his Treatife on the World:

tho, warned apparently by the fate of his mas-

· Zeus mparos vivero, Zeus usares, a. r. e.

CHAP. ter Socrates, he shows, himself extremely cautious of directly contradicting any contrary belief.

But the notion of a great and deplorable

change in human nature and in the state of all things on earth, is not mentioned by Plato alone among heathen writers: in the undoubted work of a much older author, sketching the history of mankind from its origin, we find it Hesiod. related in very remarkable to Hesiod, 'lived op. & Di. 'race of men,' according to Hesiod, 'lived related in very remarkable detail: 'The first s like gods, in perfect happiness; exempt from ' labor, from old age, and from all evil. The earth spontaneously supplied them with fruits in the greatest abundance. Dying at dength without pain, they became happy and beneficent spirits, appointed by the divine wis-* dom to the royal function of superintending the future race of men, watching their good and evil ways.' This, which he calls the golden age, or golden race, plainly forein to all Grecian history, bears an analogy to the scripture account of the terrestrial paradife, and the state of man before the fall, which is rendered still more striking by the remarkable confonance of his filver age to the scripture account of the antediluvian world after the fall. 'The

> ' fecond race of men,' he proceeds, ' were like s those of the golden age, neither in nature nor

> in moral character. They scarcely reached

" manhood in a hundred years; yet not thus ' less subject to pain and folly, they died early.

They were unceasing in violence and injustice

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ce rd toward one another, nor would they duly reverence the immortal gods. Jupiter therefore hid this race in his anger, because they honored not the bleffed gods of heaven. In speaking of the third race of men, which he calls the brazen race, the poet at length comes home to his own country, describing exactly that state of things which Plutarch has more particularly described in his life of Theseus?.

Aristotle, who lived in less apprehension of the intolerant tyranny of the Athenian democracy, declares &'s opinion upon the unity of the Deity and the origin of Polytheism, more explicitly than his mafter Plato, and in a manner that does honor to his strong understanding. 'It is a tradition,' he fays, ' received from of Ariflot.de old among all men, that Gop is the creator Mundo, ' and preferver of all things; and that nothing. 'in nature is sufficient to its own existence, without his superintending protection. Hence fome of the antients have held that all things are full of gods; obvious to fight, to hearing, and to all the fenses; an opinion consonant enough to the power, but not to the nature of the deity. - God, being One, has thus c. 7. received many names, according to the va-' riety of effects of which he is the cause.'

Such were the traditions of poets, and the opinions of philosophers. There remains yet for notice a testimony, not less remarkable or less important perhaps than any of these, which

See chap. 1. fect. 3. of this history.

has

CHAP. has been preserved inadvertently by a historian who did not intend us this, tho we owe to him much valuable information. Herodotus, after giving an account of the origin of the names of the principal Grecian divinities, proceeds to tell us, that, being at Dodona, he was there affured (apparently by the priests of the farfamed temple of Jupiter) that, antiently, the Pelafgian ancestors of the Grecian people sacrificed and prayed to gods to whom they gave no name or diffinguishing appellation " for,' he adds. they had never heard of any but they called them gods as the disposers and rulers of all things ".' It is hence evident, that the Pelafgians can have acknowleged but one god; for, where many gods are believed, diftinguishing appellations will and must be given; but the unity of the deïty precludes the necessity of names.

That purer religion, then, according to this unfuspicious testimony of Herodotus, was brought into Greece by its first inhabitants. It was occasionally nourished, and received accessions, not probably advantageous to its purity, from Thrace; but the absurdities of Grecian polytheifm; as we are abundantly affured, were

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⁻ lawrepin oud obropa. Herod. l. s. c. 52.

Herodotus appears to have supposed the Greek name for God to have been derived from a Greek verb fignifying to place or dispose: other Grecian authors have imagined other etymologies for it; but it feems rather probable that it had a more antient origin than any derivation within the Greek language.

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derived principally from Egypt 12. The colonifts who passed from that polished country to favage Greece, would of course communicate their religious tenets 13. The rude natives, according to all traditions, listened greedily to instruction on a subject in which they felt themfelves deeply interested; and thought it an important improvement to be able to name many gods, whose stories were related to them, inflead of facrificing to one only, without a name, of whose will they were wholly uninformed, and of whose nature they had no fatisfactory conception. Nor is the transition violent, for ignorant people, from a vague idea of one omnipresent deity, to the belief of a separate divine essence in different places, and in every different thing. On the contrary, the popular superstitions of almost all nations show it congenial to the human mind; which wants exercise of its powers to inable it to exalt thought to the conception of one Almighty and boundless Being. Polytheifm, therefore, once differninated, the lively imagination of the Greeks would not be confined within the limits of Egyptian instruction. Their country, with fewer objects of wonder, abounded with incentives to fancy, which Egypt wanted, Hence, beside Juno, Vesta, Themis, Herodot,

1. a. c. 50,

³³ See Warburton's Divine Legation, Shuckford's Connexion of Sacred and Profane History, Bryant's Analysis of Antient Mythology, and Pownall on the Study of Antiquities, with the numerous authorities by them quoted.

¹³ See on this subject Herodotus, Plato, and Diodorus Siculus, whom

Hefiod.

CHAP. whom they added to the principal divinities derived from the marshy banks of the Nile, every Grecian mountain acquired its Oreads, every wood its Dryads, every fountain its Naiad, the fea its Tritons and its Nereids, and every river its god; the variety of the feafons produced the Op. & Di. Hours; and the Muses and the Graces were the 1. 1. V. 75. genuine offspring of the genius of the people. Thus were divinities fo multiplied before Homer's time, that nobody any longer undertook

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Iliad, 1. & feq.

from the One Almighty parent of good, not less in attributes than in number. Jupiter, the chief of them, was not omnipotent: omniprefence was not among his attributes; nor was he all-feeing; and as perfect goodness was nowhere to be found in Homer's heaven, so there was by no means perfect happiness there. The chief of the gods feems to have been supposed under both the control and the protection of Fate; he is described under apprehension from his inferior deities; he was subject to various weaknesses;

And now the Grecian gods were changed

8 l. 14 V. 443. et feq.

Iliad. 1.

liable to be overcome by passion; and the goddess of mischief, Atë, was said to be his eldest daughter. Confistently with such an idea we find the inferior deities in general more disposed to disturb than assist the government of the 102.2.6.1 chief; who is represented without the least con-Iliad. I. fidence in their wisdom and right intentions, placing his whole dependance on his own

1. v. s.

Iliad. 1. 8. strength only. Hence alone also is derived V. 310. their reverence for him; not that he is wife and good, but that he is strong. Minerva, the god- SECT. dels of wildom, fpeaks of the foverein of the gods, calling him at the fame time her father, Iliad. 1. in the reproachful and debasing terms of ra- 8. v. 361. ging with an evil mind, in perpetual oppofition to her inclinations." The fame goddefs is reprefented advising Pandarus to endeavour Iliad. 1. to bribe Apollo with the promise of a hecal 4. v. 101. tomb, to affift him in affaffinating Menelatis contrary to the faith of a folemn treaty; and even Supiter himself joins with that goddess and Juno in prompting fo foul a murder, which was to involve with it the basest treachery and the most offensive perjury. We cannot but wonder to find the goddefs of wisdom and the soverein of the gods thus employed. Yet the belief that villainy, fo often feen triumphant, was frequently favored by fome superior power, or however that the meer crime against the neighbour seldom or never offended the deity, appears by no means unnatural, and certainly has been extensively held ... tyl. p. 169. It is worthy of remark, that a religion which acknowleges only one God has not taught the bank ab Turks to reason more justly : Whatever the intention may have been, fays the elegant and judicious Bufbequius, in the account of his De Legaembaffy at the Ottoman Court, if the event is tione Turcica. epift.

prosperous, they look upon God as authori- 4.

14 See Odyff. L. 3. v. 273. & L. 16. v. 398. Ariftoph. Plut. V. 28-38. Plat. de Rep. 1. 2. p. 361. t. 2. & de Leg. 1. 10. p. 905. et feq. but particularly Glaucon's long argument in favor of injustice, in the second book of Plato's Republic, which the phisopher with difficulty, and scarcely, refutes.

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CHAP. Sizing the deed: in proof of which he relates fome remerkable occurrences in Turkish history, and a conversation which he held concerning them with a Turk of rank order add

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Thus imperfect as the chief of the Grecian heaven is represented, still that the Greeks de rived their first notion of him from the power of a king of Crete, is an opinion as unauthorized by the oldest poets and historians as it is in itself improbable, not to fay impossible. Ho. mer's invocation to the Dodongan Rolafgian Jupiter suffices indeed alone to resute the idea But that a king of Crete, like Alexander and the Cæfars in more inlightened ages, may have assumed, or may have been complimented with a title usually appropriated to the deity, is sufficiently likely. Whence indeed the Greek name Zeus (which in the common form of invocation gave the Latin Juniter) was derived, is an inquiry that cannot end in certainty. Plate fays it is a name not easy to be understood; and the fanciful explanation of it which he has undertaken to give the adopted by Ariffotle, appears, like fome other etymologies, utterly unworthy of the great names under whole authority it comes to us. It feems however fully confistent with the analogy of letters, as well as from many circumftances highly probable, that the Greek and Latin names for the deïty, as they were variously inflected, Theos, or ra-

ther Theo, Deo, Dia, Zeu, Jove, and the Hebrew which we write Jehovah, tho in the orien-

and reactly, and reacely, refutes.

Iliad. 1. 16. V. 233.

A. V. LOL.

Plat. Cratyl. p. 369. Ariftot. de Mund. C. 7.

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Ideas concerning that Fate, which was fupposed to decide the lot of gods equally as of men, could not but be very indeterminate. Fate was personified, sometimes as one, fometimes as three fifter-beings. The three Furies, or avenging deities, feem to have been fometimes confidered as the same with the Fates, sometimes as attending powers. Either or both, for the superstition which occasioned a dread of naming them makes it difficult to diffinguish, were often mentioned by the respectful title of the Venerable Goddesses 16. They seem indeed to have been the only Grecian deities who were supposed incapable of doing wrong. Of evil spirits; in the modern sense of the term, the

³⁵ See Monde Primitif Analysé et Compare, par M. Court de Gebelin, vol. 1. p. 166. & Recherches fur les Arts de la Gréce, vol. 1. notes 96, 97, et 112. The Hebrew mm is, in a language of such near affinity as the Chaldee, very differently written. being ". This, with the preposition 17 or 7, expressing the polfeffive case, prefixed, approaches very nearly to the Greek Ail, and the Latin Dei, Dii, Divi. It is to be observed that the modern Greeks pronounce A like the English TH, in THIS, THERE; and Y, when it follow A or E, as our v conforant. The antient Lacedæmonians, as we learn from the specimens of the Laconic dialect in the Lylistrata of Aristophanes, and in Xenophon's anabasis, pronounced E for O, and if we might believe the abbé Fourmont's account of inscriptions found in Laconia, inserted in the 15th vol. of the Memoirs of the French Academy of Inscriptions, they wrote fo. Concerning the analogy of letters, Sharpe on the Origin of Languages, and Pownall on the Study of Ant quities, may be advantageously consulted by those who have leifure and inclination for fuch inquiries, and and add absence around

Elpan Seal, venerande de el santant dels handa sevenires Greeks and the god of the doc being takes fellishe, we thall not week

CHAP.

II. l. s. v. 155. &

1. 20. v. 30. & 336.

Greeks appear to have had no idea. But fuch was the acknowleged imperfection of the Gre. cian heaven, that Hefiod expressly declares it to have been the office of the Fates and Furies 'to punish the transgressions of MEN and GODS 17. It feems to have been supposed the principal office of Jupiter to superintend the performance of the decrees of Fate; and for that purpose to keep a watchful eye over the ways of both mortals and immortals. Fate therefore being but a blind power, and Jupiter a very imperfed divinity, we shall the less wonder to find it mentioned by Homer as possible, which yet appears a strange inconsistency, that things contrary to fate may be done, not only by gods but even by men ".

Idolatry,

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17 — άνδοῦν το θεῶν το παραιδασίας ἰφίπουσαν.

Theogon. v. 220.

18 There is in the Prometheus of Æschylus a very curious passage concerning Necessity, the Fates, and the power of Jupiter, in which the poet remarkably avoids explaining what fate is: Prometheus and the Chorus speak:

Cho. Τις δου ἀνάγκης Ις Ιν διακογρόφος;
Prom. Μοϊραι τρίμορφοι, μεύμους τ' Έρινούς.
Cho. Τούτων ὰς' ὁ Ζούς ἰςτο ἀσθινήταρος;
Prom. "Ουπουν ἄν ἐκφύγοι γὶ τὸν πεπεωμένον.
Cho. Τί γας πίπρωται Ζορί πλλι ἀσί πρατώς;
Prom. Τοῦτ' ὁὺυ ἀν οῦν πύθοιο, μαδί λιπάρει.

Prometh. Vinct. p. 34. ed. H. Steph.
Herodotus relates a response of the Delphian oracle, declaring
the subjection of the gods to the power of fate: Two ware pulses
in a ware for any oracle, and Out. I. i. c. 91. This is the
more remarkable for being given as an apology for the oracle,
whenever it had the misfortune to make a mistake or tell a falseshood. The god of science being thus fallible, we shall not won-

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Idolatry, as far as appears from Homer, was SECT. in his time unknown in Greece; and even temples were not common, the those of Minerva Iliad. 1. 2. at Athens, Apollo at Delphi, and Neptune at 1. 9. Ege, feem to have been of some standing. odvs. 1. Sacrifices were performed, as by the Jewish s. v. 79. patriarchs, on altars raifed in open air and Iliad. 1. prayers were addressed, tho to many, yet to deities beyond the fearch of human eyes. We find Nestor sacrificing to Neptune on the fea- Odyst. 1. thore 19; to Minerva before the portico of his & 406. palace; and the terms in which Homer mentions the fanes of Apollo at Delphi and Minerva at Athens, favor the supposition that even these were uncovered; refembling, except perhaps in rudeness of workmanship, rather our venerable antiquity of Stonehenge than the later Grecian temples. Nor is there any mention of hero-worship, or divine honors paid to men de-

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der if the wisdom of the goddess of art was also imperfect. Notwithstanding the veneration of the Athenians for the tutelary deity of their state. Æschylus, in his tragedy named from the Furies. has not scrupled to make Minerva, while she respects those horrible goddesses as her superiors in age, acknowlege that they were also very much her superiors in wisdom:

for Herion. Songs to the gods, ove accetoid,

Ogyac Eurolou oor Vientien yae ii. Káiros yspin zágr ipou goduriga.

Aschyl. Eumenid, p. 302. ed. H. Steph. Farther, however, than to illustrate and justify Homer, the tenets of the age of Æschylus and Herodotus will rather be for future confideration.

19 Strabo fays there was afterward a temple of Neptune at or pear the place (r), but Homer mentions nothing of it.

1 1 id . (1) Strab. L. B. Pe344.

CHAP ceafed which became afterward to common? Indeed the invecations were occasionally addreffed to numberless divinities, yet the great objects of worthip and facrifice feem to have been only Jupiter, Neptune, Apollo, and Mil nerva; all, together with Fate itfelf, as Arifto. the positively affures us, originally but different names for the ONE Gon, confidered with respect to different powers, functions, or attributes; as the divine wildom, the god of light and life, the creator and ruler of all things ", Grecian religion, therefore, being raifed without fystem on a foundation of mistake, inconcongruities were natural to it. I want and it is

Iliad. l. 4. V. 49. & 1. 24. V. 70. Iliad. l. 1. V. 474-

The fum of the duty of men to the gods confifted, according to Homer, in facrifice only. That due honor was paid to him by offerings on his altars, is the reason given by Jupiter for his affection for the Trojans, and particularly for Hector. Songs to the gods, we are told, der it chie william be the worlders of archive all the d

Es di w, wohowouse iri, a. r. s, Ariftot. de Mundo. c. 7. or, according to Æschylus (3),

Πολλών διομάτων μος φή μία. Mr. Bryant, in his Analysis of Antient Mythology, has collected testimony to the point from various heathen authors.

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The terms Hulber, and Otion your, used by Hefiod (1), feem but titles of compliment to his heroes, analogous to Air, fo common with Homer, or the phrase, That the people revered their leaders as gods. All perhaps may show a tendency to a worship not in their time practifed, and might even help to lead to it; as might also more particularly Hesiod's doctrine, whencesoever derived, of the charge committed to the exalted spirits of the men of the golden age over the future race of mankind (2).

⁽¹⁾ Op. & Di. l. 1. v. 188, 159. (1) Op. & Di. l. 1. v. 190. (3) Prometh. v. 208.

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were also grateful to them; ablution was office 11441 a necessary ceremony before facrifice or libation; 1. 9. v. but without facrifice nothing was effectual. 1884 529. crifices, promifed or performed, are alone are v. 473. & ged in prayer to promote the granting of the al. petition, and the omission of facrifices due was Iliad. 1. s. supposed surely to excite divine reschrinkent. V. 178. Here and there only, as flars glittering for a moment through fmall bright openings in a formy fky, we find fome fpark of morality connected with Homer's religion. Minerva re- Odys. 1, commends Ulyffes to the favor of the gods for Iliad. 1. being a good and just king; and those who 16.v. 386. give unjust judgements are threatened with divine vengeance. Perjury, however, as the crime most particularly affronting to themselves, was what they were supposed most particularly difposed to revenge 23. ' Jupiter,' we are told, Iliad. 1. will not favor the false; and in another place, Odyff. 1. The bleffed gods love not evil deeds; but they 14 v. 38. honor juffice, and the righteous works of ' men;' after which follows a remarkable paffage: 'Even when the hardened and unrighteous invade the lands of others, tho Jupiter grant them the fpoil, and, loading their thips, they arrive every one at his home, still the frong fear of vengeance dwells on their minds 23. The whole of this speech in the an mon't the present of a substant bi costs land Odyffee

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and the state Heliod. Theogon Viagra

¹³ In translating quotations from Greek authors, I prefer the rifk 14

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CHAP. Odyffee forms a ftriking picture of that anxious uncertainty concerning the ways of God, his favor be men, and their duty to him, which confiderate but lininformed persons could scarcely be without. Hefiod, who had evidently communicated much less extensively among mankind than Homer, takes upon him with honest zeal to denounce more particularly the vengeance of the deity against those who wrong their neighbours. He threatens even whole states with famine and pestilence, the destruction of their armies, the wreck of their fleets, and all forts of misfortunes for the unpunished injustice of individuals. At the same time he indifcreetly promifes peace and plenty, and all temporal rewards from the favor of the gods to the upright: concluding, however, with fome remarks not less worthy the philosopher than the poet, which are the foundation of that beautiful and well-known allegory the Choice of Hercules, and which have been variously repeated in all the languages of Europe 14.

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toour invadentive lands of others, the jupiter risk of some uncouthness of phrase to those wide deviations from the original expression for which French criticism seems to allow: large indulgence. Even poetry I have always endeavoured to render, as nearly as possible, word for word. Our language is perhaps more favorable for this purpose than the French. But Mr. Pope's translation, itself an admirable poem, will seldom anfwer the end of those who desire to know with any precision what Homer has faid.

Even when the hardened and unright

The deficiency of Homer's religious and moral fystem remained to a late age in Greece. A very remarkable passage in the second book of Plato's republic (p. 364. t. 2.) shows how little in his time a virtuous and blameless life was supposed a recommendation 8

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The different functions of the gods, and the SECT. different and often opposite parts which they were supposed to take in human affairs, were a plentiful fource of superfitious rites, as well as of advantages to those who, in consequence cither of office or their own pretentions, were supposed to have more immediate communication with any deity. Tell me which of the Odyff. 1. 'immortals hinders me!' the anxious question of Menelaus to the daughter of Proteus, must have occurred often as a most perplexing doubt in disappointment and calamity. Without information which of the gods was adverse, the expence of propitiatory hecatombs was vain : for the number of Grecian divinities was, in Homer's time, far beyond the bounds of calculation, as we may learn from the address of Ulysses to the unknown deity of a river; and odys. 1. when afterward the number of worshipped gods 5. v. 445. was prodigiously increased, those unnamed and unknown were not the less innumerable.

The opinion was general that the gods often Odyff. 1. visited the earth, sometimes in visible shape, 3. v. 430. and that they interfered in human concerns 484. upon all occasions. Numberless passages in va- 7. v. 201. rious authors prove that this belief continued long popular. Throughout Homer's poems Iliad. &

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mendation to divine favor, and how much more importance was attributed to facrifice and the observation of ceremonies. In a still much later age Lucian found the discordance of Grecian religion with all morality, a very just subject for fatire, and he has ridiculed it with as much reason as wit: "Eye yag, axe, pis is rations is, and one Opingon was Housdon workshop, was relong dayyoupster, w. r. s. Necyomant. See also Plutarch's life of Pericles, toward the end.

the

Ilind. 1. 23. v. 263. 2 372.

Odyff. 1. 19. V. 488.

the Blendid actions of men always, and fome. times those of little consequence, are attributed to the immediate influence of fome deity. Thus Diviles fays, not "If I shall overcome the proud

Iliad. 1. 6. v. 108.

funtors, but "If God, through me, shall over come the proud fuitors.' Thefe opinions could not but have powerful effects. They were fometimes an incentive to bravery, fometimes an excuse for cowardice: often they decided the fate of a battle. In the fixth book of the Hiad the Trojans are described yielding before the Greeks; but, incouraged by Hector, they stand and renew the ingagement. This turn, the cause of which was not immediately apparent, excited in the Greeks a sudden fancy that some divinity was descended from heaven to assist their enemies, who in confequence recovered the advantage. We might suppose, from the liveliness of the poet's description, that he had been eye-witness to some such circumstance. It is fo eafy, in times of general ignorance,

for men of fome cunning to find means of cheating the more thoughtless into an extravagant opinion of their abilities, and mankind is, through the uncertain forefight of reason, to interested in future events, that no country has been without its foothfayers. Those fixed oracles, which afterward became fo important in Grecian politics, had apparently not, so early as the Trojan war, any very extensive celebrity. The prophetical groves of the Pelalgian Jupiter at Dodona were indeed not without fame; but they were too inconveniently fituated, beyond

Odyff. 1. 14. V. 327. & 1. 19. V. 296.

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raft ridges of mountains, in a remote corner of SECTO the country, for the Greeks in general to have means of confulting them. Delphi, mentioned Hisd. J. 9. both in the Itiad and Odyflee by the name of V. 404. Pytho, a name which continued long to be ap. 8. v. 79. Xen. Aplied to the temple and facred precinct, must pol. Socr. also have had reputation for its prophetical powers, which alone apparently could procure 9. p. 417. irthose riches for which it was already remark odyff. 1. able: Agamemnon is faid to have consulted it 8. v. 75. before he undertook the expedition against Troy. But it was less usual, at great trouble and expence, to confult a distant oracle, while the belief was yet popular that individuals were everywhere to be found fo inspired by the deity as to have the power of foretelling events, without depending upon any particular temple or facred place as a peculiar refidence of the god. Views of interest, as we learn from Homer, often induced men of abilities and experience really superior, to pretend to fuch divine intercourse. Calchas, the great feer of the Grecian army before Troy, who is faid to have known things past, present, and future, was also the chief pilot of the fleet; Iliad l. r. and the poet attributes his knowlege, even as a v. 71. pilot, not to his experience, but to the immediate inspiration of Apollo. Augury, or the science of divination by observation of various circumstances of nature, was in some repute. It appears doubtful in what estimation Homer himself held it. He makes Hector, the most pious and the most amiable of his heroes, speak anbui

CHAP. II. Iliad. l. 22. V. 99.

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of it with contempt?: yet in the end he makes the same Hector acknowlege the superior wisdom of Polydamas, who confided in augury.

The human foul was generally believed immortal; but it is a gloomy, difcontented, nugatory immortality that Homer affigns even to his greatest characters. The Celtic bards and Teutonic scalds far otherwise inspired contempt of danger and ambition to die in battle. The difference had been observed in Lucan's time. and forcibly struck the lively imagination of that poet 26. Yet the drunken paradife of the Scandinavian Odin, the Woden of our Anglofaxon ancestors, often mistakenly considered as originating in a groffness of manners and ideas peculiar to the Teutonic hords, was really a notion, as we learn from Plato, of the highest antiquity among the Greeks. If it was known to Homer, his tafte indeed rejected it, but his

Etç διωίος αριτός, αμένισθαι περί πάτρης.

Iliad. l. 12. V. 243.

Sacrorum, Druidæ, positis repetistis ab armia.
Solis nosse deces & cœli numina vobis.
Aut solis nescire datum. Nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis. Vobis auctoribus umbræ
Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi
Pallida regna petunt: regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio: longæ (canitis si cognita) vitæ
Mors media est. Certe populos quos despicit Arctos
Felices errore suo, quos ille, timorum
Maximus, haud urget leti metus! Inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animaeque capaces

Mortis, & ignavum redituræ parcere vitæ. 11 119 1111

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²⁵ Where he utters that noble sentiment of patriotic heroism:
Ές διωνός άριτος, άμιστοθαι περί πάτρης.

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judgement was unable to clear away the various SECT. other abfurdities of popular belief, or to put forward any rational system. Some idea of reward and punishment in a future life prevailed in his age; but it was impossible that it should be regulated by any just criterion of moral good and evil, where morality had fo little connection with religion, and where every vice found favor with the gods. As Hefiod's morality is more pure, fo his notions of a future flate are less melancholy than those of Homer.

lidered them wes as unitedly forming a dilin I a mine SECTION of II. a ; no man don't falian, as fuch, little more his tellowcode ne-

leftively; and they scarcely seem to have con-

Of the Government and Jurisprudence of the early connection between times epitants of the leveral flatds, which appears alone to have had any

IN painting the religion, government, manners, arts, and knowlege of the age of Agamemnon, Homer feems to give precifely those of his own time. He nowhere marks any difference, and there appears no good reason for supposing that any confiderable difference was known to him, if indeed any existed. As a poet, he magnifies the ftrength of men of old; but without at all attributing, like many modern writers, the decay of strength to any change of manners; and we find explained by Hefiod, what in Homer is only implied; that, as the heroes of his poems were mostly fons or grandsons of gods or goddesses, it was consonant to the nature of things that they should be indowed with very **fuperior**

Thucyd. l. 1. c. 3.

CHAP. Superior abilities to the men of his own days, who were fome generations farther removed from fuch lofty origin ".)

As late then as Homer's own time, the Greeks

had not arrogated to themselves any superiority of national character above the people of the furrounding countries; and in fact they feem not yet to have excelled their neighbours in any circumstance of science, art, or civilization. The term Barbarian was not yet in use: they had not a name even for themselves collectively; and they scarcely seem to have confidered themselves as unitedly forming a diftinct nation; a Peloponnesian esteeming a Thesfalian, as fuch, little more his fellowcountryman than a native of Phenicia or Egypt. The connection between the inhabitants of the feveral states, which appears alone to have had any great weight, was confanguinity. For this the Greeks retained long fuch a regard as greatly to influence their politics. It was indeed natural that, while the tenure of cities and countries was fo very precarious, the opinion of being descended from the same common anceltors should bind men more strongly together than the meer circumstance of possessing terri-

attributing, little many modern writers, the de-27 Aira fortaga sag ardpaon lumbiaus Αθάναται γέναντο θεοί; Ιστείνελα τίκου. Hel. Theore Hef. Theogon. v. 1019.

And to the fame purpole a quotation in the third book of Plates Republic (1) dibatin 10 ylflom s

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nidi ories sories bounded by the fame mountains or the SECT. fame feet. There was hardly a leader in the Trojan war, who was not connected by blood with many others, This would not a little facilitate the forming of fo extensive a league; and the league itself might contribute to Grengthen the connection. But any tradition, however uncertain, or after whatfoever interval revived, of derivation from the same forefathers, had, to a late period, remarkable influence among the Grecian people.

Yet we find in Homer no trace of the divifions of the Greek nation into Ionian, Alolian, and Dorian, which became afterward of fo great confideration. The whole country was under the dominion of those kindred chieftains; every town of any confequence having its own prince; and the subjects were a mixed people. firangers being everywhere admitted to municipal rights with little referve. But the antient Dionyl. Grecian princes were not absolute, as Dionysius Hal. Anof Halicarnaffus remarks, like the Afiatic mo- 1 500 parchs; their power was limited by laws and established customs. This observation, supported by the higher authority of Thucydides?, is not only confirmed, but explained in some detail, by the still superior testimony of Homer. The poet himself appears a warm friend to monarchal rule, and takes every opportunity zealoufly to inculcate loyalty. It is a common expression with him, that 'the people revered

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Odvff. 1.

CHAP. their leaders as gods; and he attributes to kings a degree of divine right to respect and Iliad. 1. a. authority: 'The honor of the king,' fays Ulyffes V. 197. in the Iliad, is from Jupiter, and the allwife "Jupiter loves him;" and again, The government of many is bad : let there be one chief. one king." It is however fufficiently evident that the poet means here to speak of executive Iliad. 1. 2. government only ! Let there be one chief. one king, he fays, but he adds, to whom V. 204.

' Jupiter has intrusted the scepter and the · laws, THAT BY THEM HE MAY GOVERN.' Accordingly, in every Grecian government which

he has occasion to inlarge upon, he plainly difcovers to us ftrong principles of republican rule. Not only the council of principal men, Odyff. 1. 7. V. 186. but the affembly of the people also is familiar

& l. 3. v. to him. The name A GORA, fignifying a place 387. Odyff. 1. of meeting, and the verb formed from it, to 2. V. 26. & 1, 24 express haranguing in affemblies of the people,

V. 419. 11 Iliad. l. 9. V. 441. & 443. & Odyff. l. were already in common use, and to be a good public speaker was esteemed among the highest

qualifications a man could poffefs. In the go-8. V. 170. vernment of Phæacia, as described in the

Odyffee, the mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, is not less clearly marked than

in the British constitution. One chief, twelve 8. v. 385. peers (all honored like the chief with that title which we translate King) and the affembly

of the people, shared the supreme authority". off resison with him, that ' the people revered

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The universal and undoubted prerogatives of SECT. kings were religious supremacy, and military command. They often also exercised judicial power 30. But in all civil concerns their authority appears very limited. Everything indeed that remains concerning government, in the oldest Grecian poets and historians, tends to demonstrate that the general spirit of it among the early Greeks was nearly the fame as among our Teutonic ancestors. The ordinary business Tacit. de of the community was directed by the chiefs. Mor. Concerning extraordinary matters, and more c. 11. effential interests, the multitude claimed a right to be confulted, and it was commonly found expedient to confult them.

Thus much we learn with certainty of the principles of government in Homer's age; and we are not less informed that the application of them was very generally irregular and inefficacious. The whole tenor of the Odyffee shows on how weak a foundation all political

> Δώδικα γάρ κατά δήμοι άριπρεπίες βασιλής Αρχοί πραίνουσι, τρισκαιδέκατος δ' έγω άυτος.

Odyff. 1. 8. v. 387.

This phrase would seem to describe an oligarchal or aristocratical rather than a monarchal government, but that the superior authority of the monarch is marked in other passages. The titles both Baonhais and anat were antiently given to any powerful men without accurate distinction. The former became afterward frictly appropriated as our title King now is, but the latter contimed long to be more loofely applied; as may be feen in the Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles, v. 85, 312, 643, & 930.

30 Κύριοι δί ήσαν (δι βασιλείς) της το κατά σύλεμον ηγεμονίας, καλ ris burius, some un isparinal, nal weds rouros; ras dinas Expirer. Aristot. Polit. 1. 30 c. 14. See also Thucydides, b. 30. c. 13.

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CHAP. institutions rested. It appears to have been

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1. V. 386.

univerfally understood that monarchies were in some degree hereditary; and the right of primogeniture was strongly favored by popular opinion. Yet Homer, advocate as he is for monarchy, feems plainly to admit a right in the people to interfere and direct the succession. Telemachus was to succeed unquestionably to his father's estate; but the succession to the throne was legally open to competition: there was always room for the pretenfions of the most worthy; which was but another name for the most powerful. It has been faid to have been Homer's intention, after having, in the Iliad, fet bodily abilities in the most brilliant light, to show, in the Odyssee, the preeminence of mental powers. Yet fuch was the state of things in his age that, to give mental powers any efficacy, he has been obliged to add a high degree, indeed a general superiority, of bodily strength and bodily accomplishments. Hence even the most renowned princes were reduced, in the decrepitude of years, to refign the powers of royalty, and efteem themselves fortunate if they could retain the honors. The government of the ilands over which Laërtes, and after him his fon Ulyffes, reigned, was, if we may judge from Homer, at least as well regulated as any of Greece; and those princes are repre-

fented equally beloved and respected by the

vigor of manhood, the venerable character of

the father was utterly unable to preferve its due

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See particularly Odyff. 1. 81 v. 158

Odyff. 1,

Achilles to Ulyffes in the Elyffan fields, 'do the Myrmidons yet honor the illustrious Peleus? Or is he fet at nought fince age hath infeebled his limbs; and I no longer his alfistant exist under the light of the fun, fuch as in the fields of Troy I dealt death to the bravest while I fought for the Greeks? If such I could return but for a moment to my father's house, those should dread my strength and my invincible arm, who violate his rights, or obtrude upon his honors.'

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It appears, nevertheless, that government and the administration of justice had acquired confiderable strength and steadiness, through Peloponnesus at least, fince the age of Hercules The political state of that counand Thefeus. try, in the times which Homer describes, very much refembled that of the kingdoms of western Europe in the feudal ages. The chiefs, whom we call kings, were as the barons who exercised royal rights within their own territories; all acknowleging the head of the Pelopid family as lord paramount. As the kings of Argos were able men, the consequence of this subordination, however checked for a time by the usurpation of Ægistheus, could not but be favorable to the administration of justice and the well-being of the Peloponnesian people.

We find in Homer no mention of a republic, nor is there reported by any other author any tradition that, so early as his age, a government existed in Greece, in which a single person did

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CHAP.

not prefide with the title of king, and with the prerogatives already mentioned as inherent in royalty. Yet, within no long period after him, monarchal rule was almost universally abolished, even the title of King nearly loft, and the term of Tyrant substituted for it. This would appear a change not easy to account for, had not Homer himself pointed out to us that strong tinge of republican principles in the constitution of the little states of Greece, even while princes of acknowleged right were at the head of them. There is in the Odyffee a pointed expression to this purpose, which may deserve notice: Ulyffes, addressing himself as a suppliant to the queen of a strange country, on the coast of which he had faved himself from shipwreck, fays, ' May the gods grant you and your guests to live happily; and may you all trans-

mit to your children your possessions in your

houses, and whatsoever honors THE PEOPLE

HATH GIVEN YOU 31.

While Laws were yet unwritten they could be but few and simple; and judicial proceedings, founded upon them, little directed by any just or fettled principles for the investigation of right and wrong. 'The people were affembled in the market-place, when a dif-

pute arose between two men concerning the payment of a fine for manslaughter 33. One of

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^{32 &#}x27;Ardo's arophipinou, which might be either manslaughter, or the very different crime, the fimilar act, of murder: for Grecian law was yet little nice in diffinctions.

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them, addressing himself to the bystanders, afferted that he had paid the whole; the other infifted that he had received nothing: both were earnest to bring the dispute to a judicial determination. The people grew noily in E. P. 32. favor fome of the one, fome of the other: but the heralds interfering inforced filence; and the elders approaching, with scepters of heralds in their hands, feated themselves on the polished marble benches in the facred circle. Before them the litigants, earnestly flepping forward, pleaded by turns; while two talents of gold lay in the midft, to be awarded to him who should support his cause by the fairest arguments and the clearest reftimony 33." Such is Homer's account of a 11.1. 18. court of justice, and a lawfuit. The defendant V: 497 angs that is spoken es, but enc

In revising this translation, some years after it was first made, I found I had unawares differed from the scholiast and from all the most received versions. But I learnt from Pope's note upon the passage, that the common interpretation, which he has followed, is not undisputed; and his reason given for preferring it I scarcely comprehend. A public reward proposed either for the cunningest pleader, or the cunningest judge, on the decision of every cause, seems nearly an equal absurdity; nor does it appear to me that, consistently with common sense, the two talents of gold can be considered otherwise than as the amount of the sine itself, the very object in litigation. The words of the original persectly bear that interpretation. My version of the preceding line,

Tolow irer' horor, 'apolendie d' idixalor,

I submit with more doubt to the learned in the language. The spirit of the passage makes me wish that it could be supported, the I cannot undertake myself intirely to defend it.

Pope, in his translation of this passage, and it is but common justice to Homer to mention it, has taken a very unwarrantable K 3 liberty;

CHAP first endeavoured to ingage in his favor the people affembled occasionally about their ordinary butiness. The plausibility of his story, and probably some personal interest besides, for the amount of the fine proves the litigants to have been men of fome consequence, procured him immediately, a party; but not fuch as to prevent his opponent also from finding The voices of the people, frong support. therefore, not being likely to determine the business, it was agreed to refer it to the council of elders, who affembled instantly, and decided fummarily. It is observable that in this bufiness no mention is made of a king; and again in another passage of Homer, where the vengeance of Jupiter is denounced against those who give unjust judgments, it is not the tribunal of kings that is spoken of, but the affembly of the people 34.

What remains from Hefiod concerning the administration of justice, also merits notice. A lawfuit with his brother, in confequence of which he remained deprived of part of his patrimony, has given occasion to much of his poem intitled Of Works and Days. The word which we translate King, is there only found in the plural, and appears never intended to

liberty; describing the judges in terms of ridicule, when the original authorizes no idea but of dignity. If Pope's passion for fatire had not been irrelistible, the respect due to his patron lord Harcourt, whom it appears he confulted upon the pallage, fhould have guarded him against joking so much out of season.

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^{34 &}quot;Arders ier aroen. Iliad. 1, 16. V. 386, 387.

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fignify a monarch, but only magistrates or SECT. nobles, fuch as the twelve of Phæacia, or the elders bearing scepters of heralds in the facred circle. Against those powerful men, whatever Hesiod. they were, who under that title, in his country 1.1. v. 37. of Bœotia, held the administration of justice, & seq. & the poet inveys feverely: his epithet for them, 236 & feq. which he frequently repeats, is ' bribe-devour-' ing kings.' In his Theogony we find a more Hefiod. pleasing picture: 'The chief of the Muses,' he Theogon. there fays, 'attends upon Kings. That King whom the Muses honor, and on whose birth they have looked propitious, on his tongue they pour sweet dew. From his mouth words flow persuasive. All the people look up to ' him while, pointing out the law, he decides ' in righteous judgement. Firm in his eloquence, with deep penetration, he quickly determines even a violent controverly. For this is the office of wisdom in kings; to repress outrage and injustice, administering equal right to all in the general affembly, ' and eafily appearing irritated minds with ' foothing words. When fuch a king walks ' through the city, eminent among the affembled people, he is courted as a god, with af-' fectionate reverence. Such is the facred gift of the Muses to men: for poets and musicians are from Apollo and the muses; but kings ' are from Jupiter himself.' It is remarkable that no legal power is here afcribed to the people; and yet, but for the mention of the title of king, we might imagine the description to

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CHAP. be of a demagogue in some of the subsequent democracies. The whole passage forms a striking picture of those middle times, between the barbarism when Orpheus governed brutes by fong, or Amphion built city-walls with his lyre, and the meridian glory of eloquence and 236 at len. philosophy, which ought to have produced a political quiet, unfortunately never found in bornt Greece, ball our anogod T and all ashad to

Tradsion SECTION III.

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Of Science, Arts, and Commerce among the early Greeks. Letters: Language: Poetry: Music. Hulbandry: Traffic. Majonry, Manufastures: Commerce. Art of War. Navigation, Aftronomy. outenie, Pwith deep percent

WE have already observed, as a remark-

able circumstance in Grecian history, that its oldest traditionary memorials relate, not to war and conquest, generally the only materials of the annals of barbarous ages, but to the invention or introduction of institutions the most indispensable to political society, and of arts even the most necessary to human life. In no country whose history begins at a later period, do we find the faintest tradition, even a fable, Justin. 1.2. concerning the first institution of marriage: in Greece it was attributed to Cecrops. In Greece tradition mentions the original production of the olive, the first culture of the vine, and even the first fowing of corn. The first use of mills

Plat. de Leg. 1. 6. p. 782. Paufan. l. 3. c. 20.

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for grinding corn is also recorded. The know- SECT. lege of the cultivation and use of the olive, of the preparation of a lafting food from milk by converting it into cheefe, and of the domef- piod sie. tication of bees for their honey and wax, was 1. 4 c. 83 faid to have been brought from the banks of Pindar. the river Triton in Africa by Aristæus: and so Pyth. 9. important was the information to the wild tribes of hunters who first occupied Greece, that Aristæus had the fame of being the son of Apollo, the god of science, the herdmen and ruftic nymphs, among whom he had been educated, were raifed in idea to beings above human condition, and he was reported to be himfelf immortal. The goddels of art, Minerva, Æschyl, according to the oldest Athenian author from Eumen, whom anything remains to us, the reputed the peculiar patroness of Athens, was born in the fame part of Africa whence Aristæus came. Music, poetry, several musical instruments, many forts of verlification, have moreover their inventors named in Grecian tradition. Not to expatiate in the wide field thus opened for inquiry and remark, one inference it may not be alien from the office of history to fuggest. Opinions heretofore held by learned men concerning the age of the world, chiefly derived from the Hebrew scriptures, have lately been treated by some fashionable writers with a degree of ridicule. Whether anything in those Scriptures can authorize any calculation of the years which have passed since the matter which composes our globe has taken nearly its present form,

form, appears at least dubious 35. But if, neglecting the arrogant and exploded abfurdity of Egyptian vanity, we form a judgement from the modest and undefigning traditions of early Greece, from the tenor of the oldest poets. from the refearches of Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Strabo, even Diodorus Siculus, and in general of the most inquisitive and judicious Grecian profe-writers concerning the early state of nations, all concur, and the latest and best accounts even of Chinese literature go with them ", strongly to indicate that the centuries fince the Flood, or fince mankind has existed in its present state, are not likely to have been many more than Sir Maac Newton has supposed; and all remarkably accord with the Hebrew authors.

We might however perhaps judge with more rational confidence on this subject, if we knew more of the beginning of that art to which we are indebted for all our acquaintance with antiquity. But the investigation of the origin of LETTERS was in vain attempted by the most learned among the antients, who possessed means not remaining to us. Yet the pursuit has been revived, and anxiously urged among the moderns; two of whom, in our own country, men of fingular learning, unable by the most extensive and exact researches to ascertain either how or where alphabetical writing was

35 See Pownall's Treatise on the Study of Antiquities.

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invented.

³⁶ See Gibbon's Hiftory of the Roman Empire, c. 16. with the notes 22, 23, 24, 25, and the authorities there quoted.

invented, have yet deserved highly of the lite- SECT. rary world by showing how and where it might have been invented. For, the art itself being fo simple and familiar, yet the means of difcovering it fo extremely difficult to imagine, while its utility is fo beyond all estimation, some learned men, at a loss to conceive its invention by human powers, have supposed it an immediate communication from the deity. But Divine fince bishop Warburton and the lord of session. Origin of Monboddo have shown the possibility, and even Language probability, that we owe alphabetical writing to the genius of Egypt, governor Pownall has Effav on gone farther, and feems to have shown, in some the Study of Antidegree, the process of the invention from Egyp-quities. tian monuments yet remaining. Even to this apparent proof, however, a very strong objection occurs: the learned among the Egyptians themselves knew nothing of that gradual rise of the art which it has been endeavoured to investigate among the scanty relics of their antient monuments. They attributed the intire invention to one person, whose name has been variously written Thoth, Thyoth, Theuth, Athothes, Taautus, and who passed with them for a god 37. On the contrary, among the Affyrians, who, with many other arts, poffessed that of alphabetical writing at a period far be- Shuckyond connected history, no tradition appears to ford's

37 Through fome analogy, familiar, it should feem, to the Greeks cred and and Romans, the not now very apparent, the Egyptian god History. Thoth was often called by the former Hermes, by the latter Mercurius.

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CHAP. have remained, by whom it was invented or whence it came: and it is a remarkable circumffance, tho to found on it any positive inference, it must be confessed, were hazardous, that, while many, both Greek and Roman writers, ascribe the invention to the Syrians or Phenicians, the earliest occasion upon which history or tradition mentions the Use of Letters, was the Delivery of the Decalogue to the seman people of Ifrael. That ne Judan and de eand

p. 274. t.

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Tho therefore doubt yet hangs about the origin of this inestimable art, and some may still be inclined to suppose with Diodorus or with Pin Hit. Pliny that letters were of Afiatic birth, while Nat. 1.7. others believe with Plato that they were in-Plat. Phi- vented in Egypt, yet from that very remote 19. t. 2. & age in which they are known to have been used Phædrus, for the purpose of recording the divine law, 3.ed.Serr. we can trace their history, or, at least, the hiftory of their progress westward, with some certainty. Indeed every known alphabet bears strong marks of derivation from one common fource, from which Egypt, Syria, and Affyria, had all profited before its advantages were known to the rest of the world ". According to the report most generally received among the Greeks, letters were first introduced into described and and period for best stock shot participated in the tradition of the formation of the state of th

³⁸ Mr. Astle, in his treatise on the Origin and Progress of Writing, mentions that alphabets have been discovered among the eastern nations which cannot have been derived from that ONE, which, he yet allows, 'has given origin to the far greater part of those now used in different parts of the globe (1). The realons

⁽¹⁾ Orig. & Prog. of Writing, c. 4. p. 48, 49, &c. c. 5. p 64.

their country by a colony of orientals, who SECT. founded Thebes in Bosotia; and the very near refemblance of the first Greek alphabet to the Phenician, indeed sufficiently testifies whence it came 3. The name of Cadmus, by which Sharpe on the Origin the leader of the colony became known to of Lanposterity, fignified, it has been observed, in guages. the Phenician language, an eastern man: and, till the overwhelming irruption of Bœotians Thucyd. from Theffaly, about fixty years (according to Thucydides) after the Trojan war, the country was called Cadmeis, and the people Cadmeians 40.

But

reasons however which he states for the opinion seem not conclusive.

Since the first publication of the foregoing note I have had the fatisfaction to observe that Mr. Gibbon's very extensive inquiries have led him to a fimilar conclusion. Rom. Hist. c. 24. And he adds (c. 42. note 36) ' I have long harboured a fuspicion that all the Scythian, and fome, perhaps much of the Indian frience, was derived from the Greeks of Bactriana.'

39 Concors pene omnium scriptorum opinio est Græcas a Phœnicibus literas effe mutuatas, & ante Cadmi ætatem nuflas' apud Græcos extitisse literas. - Ære perennius documentum superest vel ex nominibus literarum, quæ in utraque lingua; Phænicia videlicet & Græca, eadem prorsus sunt. Montfaucon Paleograph. Græc. l. s. c. 1.

40 Kadustos is the common name for the inhabitants of Boeotia with Homer and Hesiod (1), as well as with Æschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles. But this name feems not to have been confined to those orientals who settled in that province. Herodotus (2) speaks of Cadmeians who expelled the Dorians from Histiæotis in Thessaly. History is not without other examples of national names arifing in the fame manner; among which that of the Normans is remarkable, and in every point analogous to that

(2) Herod. l. s. c. 56.

⁽¹⁾ Iliad. 1. 4. v. 388 & 391. & Odyff. 1. 11. v. 275. Scut. Herc. v. 13.

CHAP.

But we find strong reason to suppose that, in the early ages, the difference of language over Asia, Africa, and Europe, as far as their inhabitants of those ages are known to us, was but a difference of dialect; and that the people of Greece, Phenicia, and Egypt, mutually understood each other. Nor does any circumstance in the history of the Grecian people appear more difficult to account for, even in conjecture, than the superiority of form and polish which their speech acquired, in an age beyond tradition, and

of the Cadmeians: losing, in their fettlement in France, both the name and the language of their original country, their new name of Normans was an appellation descriptive of the relative fituation of their old country to their new, in words of the lost language. Homer has used the Cadmeian name in two places with a different termination, Kadminous (3); and it has been observed that, thus written, it bears a very near resemblance to the name of a people of Canaan mentioned in the book of Joshua to have been expelled by the Israelites. Upon a mere resemblance of names, however, little or nothing can be founded. Similar changes of termination are common with Homer for the purposes of variety and meter only.

⁴¹ For the affinity of the early languages of Asia, Africa, and Europe, Sharpe on the Origin of Languages, Monboddo on the Origin of Language, and Pownall on the Study of Antiquities may be referred to; and the opinion receives no small confirmation from one of the most observant and intelligent of modern Travellers, Voyage en Egypte & en Syrie par M. C. F. Volney, ch. 6. p. 77. t. I. ed. 1787. The Greek and Latin languages are of acknowleged oriental origin. The Teutonic dialects, notwithstanding their coarseness, have a manifest affinity with the Greek and Latin. The Celtic dialects have, in many characteristical circumstances, a close analogy to the Hebrew and its allied oriental tongues (1).

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⁽³⁾ Iliad. 1. 4. v. 385. & l. 23. v. 680.

⁽¹⁾ See Major Vallancy's Effay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language, and his Grammar of the Iberno-Celtic.

SECT.

in circumstances apparently most unfavorable. For it was amid continual migrations, expulfions, mixtures of various hords, and revolutions of every kind, the most unquestionable circumstances of early Grecian history, that was formed that language, fo simple in its analogy, of fuch complex art in its composition and inflexion, of fuch clearness, force, and elegance in its contexture, and of fuch fingular fweetness, variety, harmony, and majesty, in its found. Already in the time of Homer and Hefiod, who lived long before writing was common, we find it in full possession of these perfections; and we learn on no less authority than that of Plato, that still in his time the dic- Plat. de tion of Thamyras and Orpheus, supposed to Leg. 1. 8. have lived long before Homer, was fingularly i. a. pleafing.

The history of Grecian LETTERS lies more open to investigation. Manners and customs have remained in the East remarkably unvaried through all ages; and language has been, in the fame countries, proportionally permanent. The

In the Welsh the deficiency of a present tense to the verbs, the having often the third person singular of the past tense for the root, and the use of affixed pronouns and particles, are remarkable. Its particular refemblance to the Arabic in its innumerable forms for plurals of nouns is also remarkable. Whence arose the. ftrong characteristical differences which distinguish the Greek and Latin from their parent languages of the east; and how, among the western nations, the Celtic, the most westerly, held the oriental character, while the Persian, eastward among the Orientals. acquired a middle character between the more westerly Asiatic and the Greek, are problems which excite curiofity, but which scarcely the learning and diligence of a Gebelin will ever solve.

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CHAP. Syriac and Arabic, to this day, bear a close affinity to the Hebrew, even of the Pentateuch. Through the Arabic, therefore, the Syriac, Samaritan, Chaldee, and Hebrew, we have means of tracing one language almost to the beginning of things. In all these dialects we find that orthography has always been very imperfect. It has been much contested whether the antient orientals used any characters to express vowels 42. It is certain that the modern Arabs, with twenty-eight letters in their alphabet; acknowlege none for vowels; and the Persians, with a very different language, adopting the Arabic alphabet, have added fome confonants wanting for their pronunciation, and only confonants. It should seem, from these circumstances, that oriental pronunciation and oriental orthography have been fettled by organs and perceptions not very elegant and difcerning. Confonants indeed have been diftinguished with some accuracy each by its proper letter: for confonant

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⁴² Mascles's account of the Hebrew alphabet I prefer to any that I have feen. That author feems to have been well acquainted with the general character of eastern pronunciation, and with the analogy between pronunciation and orthography in the eastern Linguages. Dr. Gregory Sharpe, who has followed, with a view to improve upon him, evidently knowing little of any language but his own, except through books, yet bold enough magisterically to contradict those who had means which he could not have, has labored to form a fystem upon the very mistaken supposition that elementary founds are, in the pronunciation of all people, the fame. For supplying the deficient vowels, Sharpe's proposal is preferable to Mascless, because more simple; the quality which alone can make the merit of either, as both are equally unfounded on any authority. For authority for the Arabic alphabet I follow Richardson's Grammar.

founds are mostly so separated by their nature, and so incapable of being blended, that the dullest ear easily discriminates them. But it is not fo with the liquid found of vowels. Inaccurate organs of pronunciation will confound. and inaccurate organs of hearing will miftake, especially in hasty utterance, those which, deliberately spoken by a good voice, appear, to a difcerning ear, ftrongly diftinguished. orientals, therefore, in committing language to writing, expressed vowels in those syllables only where the vowel-found, whether through length or accent, was more particularly marked by the voice; leaving it in others to be supplied by the reader's knowlege of the word. Thus in all the castern dialects, antient and modern, we find numberless words, and some of many syllables, without a fingle vowel written. It feems, however, to be admitted that three of the Arabic letters were originally vowels "; and there remains, apparently, ample proof that at least the three corresponding Hebrew letters were alfo vowels ... But neither in the Arabic nor the but in a minner wide Perfian Novor , the there are five letters in the Arabic al-

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of 43 Among many proofs that some of the Arabic letters were originally true vowels, the older Persic writings in the Arabic character, appear strong; for in them, we are told, every syllable had its vowel (1). The pronunciation of the Persic is more delicate, and its form more persect than those of the western Asiatic tongues, and in both it approaches nearer to the Greek.

Onas veteres Hebrael Matres Lectionis vocarunt (a). If

⁽¹⁾ See Richardion's Differention on Eaftern Languages, p. 135. of ad edit.

⁽²⁾ Mafel. Gram. Heb. c. 1. Numb. s. (1)

CHAP. Persian (which would appear to us more extraordinary if the same abuse was not familiar, tho fomething less gross and less frequent, in our own language) is the letter written a guide to be relied upon for the vowel to be pronounced. Hence it feems to have been that, in all the oriental languages, those letters have ceased to fupport their reputation of vowels; and hence the comparatively modern resource of points, which, without removing the vowel-letters from their orthographical station, intirely supersede them in the office of directing the voice

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any letter of the Hebrew alphabet was a vowel, & would be fuch: and we have the express tellimony of Josephus to three more: mn. Tabra di iri quitila siconia (3). The Arabic letters alfo, Alif, Waw, Ya, corresponding to the Hebrew which we call Alef, Vau or Waw, Jod, the Matres Lectionis, if they are not vowels, are nothing; for it is comparatively feldom that Waw and Ya are founded like our v and j confonants. Befide thefe. the letters Ain and He, corresponding to the Hebrew letters of the fame names, are, one always, the other fometimes, vowels. But these five vowel-letters are very irregularly applied to the expresfion of vowel-founds; or, to fpeak familiarly to English ears, words in the Arabic continually, and in the Persian often, are not to be pronounced as they are spelt, but in a manner widely different. Moreover, tho there are five letters in the Arabic alphabet really vowels, yet only three vowel-founds can be discriminated by them; for the letters Ain and He feem to have no vowel-powers that are not also possessed by other letters.

45 It feems to be now decided, among the learned, that the vowel-points of the Arabs and Persians were unknown till after the age of Mahomet, and that the Hebrew points were imitated from them. The idea of using points to represent vowels appears to have been fuggested by the Greek marks of accent. For when the Greek, through the Macedonian conquests, and still more through the Roman, became a univerfal language, marks, in-

(3) De. Bell. Jud. 1. 6. c. 45.

rested

I have been induced to enter the more mi- SECTA nutely. I fear tediously for fome readers, into this detail, because we seem hence to acquire confiderable light on fome circumftances, otherwife unaccountable, in fo curious and interef. ting a part of the history of mankind as the history of Grecian literature. The lowest date affigned to the arrival of Cadmus in Greece is Newton's one thousand and forty-five years before Christ. Homer flourished not less than two hundred 13. years after him. It has been doubted whether Homer could write or read; and the arguments adduced for the negative, in Mr. Wood's Effay on the Original Genius of Homer, feem fcarcely controvertible. The earliest Grecian profe-

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vented and first used in the Alexandrine school, came into general use to direct all nations to the proper accentuation. In our own language, and in the Italian and Spanish, the useful practice has been followed, and indeed is now deemed indifpensable, in grammars and dictionaries. But when the Arabic, by the conquests of the Califs, became scarcely less extended than the Gree been; and its men of learning, in the leifure of peace, and under the patronage of munificent princes, applied themselves diligently to the fludy of Grecian literature, the inconveniencies of their own orthography would, particularly upon comparison, appear glaring. To remedy, therefore, the utter discord between their vowel-letters written, and vowel-founds pronounced, and to remove the uncertainty of those fyllables where custom had established that no vowel should be written, they took the Grecian marks of accent and aspiration, and, with some alterations and additions, applied them to represent the found of vowels, and to supply other defects of their established orthography. Thus the French use the Greek marks of accent to discriminate the different founds of the letter e, and to point out the omission of an orthographical s. Still, however, the new marks for vowels being only three, are very unequal to their purpose; and they have moreover never obtained general use either in Arabic or Persian writing. dicad.

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writers

CHAP. writers known to the antients themselves, were Pherocydes of Syrus, and Cadmus of Miletus: Plin. Nat., mentioned by Pliny to have lived during the c. 29. & l. reign of Cyrus king of Perfia, and at least two 7. c. 56. hundred and fifty years after Homer. No Grecian state had its laws put in writing till about the fame period, when Draco was archon at Apion. Strab. 1. Athens, and Zaleucus lawgiver of the Epizephyrian Locrians 46. The earlieft Grecian profe-6. p. 259. Herod. . writers whose works had any confiderable repu-1. 5 c. 125. tation with posterity, were Hecateus of Mile-137. Strab. tus, and Pherecydes of Athens, who were about l. i. p. 18. half a century later. The interval, therefore, & al. Dionyf. Hal, between the first lintroduction of letters, and Ant. Rom. 1. 1. any familiar use of them was, by the most moderate computation, between four and five hundred years, a lood a probacted all all blu life has being

Extraordinary as this very flow progress of so highly useful an art, among so ingenious and so informed a people, may on first view appear, circumstances are known which may amply account for it. The want of convenient and cheap materials for writing might almost alone suffice. The practice of the art was necessarily confined within very narrow limits, while, in-

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⁴⁶ If any should be inclined to suppose that what Plato says of the laws of Minos king of Crete (1) being ingraved on brazen tablets, for the use of his itinerant chief justice Talus, was meant to be seriously taken, as reported on historical authority (of which it does not, however, bear the least appearance) still the testimonies of Josephus and Strabo, so nearly concurring, should be decisive for the rest of Greece.

⁽¹⁾ Plat. Minos, p. 320, t. 2.

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flead of the pen flowing on that cheap, com- SECT. modious, and lafting material, paper, the graver was to be employed on plates of brafs, or the chiffel on blocks of marble. But to this muft be added the confideration that the oriental characters when first introduced into Greece. would not be readily applicable to Grecian speech. The oriental dialects appear always to have had, as they still have, harsh founds, unutterable by the Greeks ", and characters to express them, of course useless to the Greeks. white Grecian speech had founds not to be expressed by any oriental character . The invention, therefore, of new letters, or at least the invention of a new application of the old, would be indifpenfable: works which, if quickly como, pleted, or Examples of Cadmeland Lens,

47 Quas aures nostræ penitus reformidant, as it is observed by -Jerom (1), and Grecian ears were still more fastidious than the Even Josephus, though himself a Jew, and zealous for the honor of his nation, confesses that he dared not attempt to express the harshness of Hebrew names in Greek writing.

this accordant to Gridian the chi were

Analogous circumstances, if we only look to the nations immediately furrounding us, are within our ready observation. We have no characters to express the founds of the French J, or U, or final N; nor is the pronunciation of the two latter easily acquired, except in early years, by either an English or an Italian voice. The Spanish gutturals G, J. X, are equally strange to us. Of the whole utterance of the Dutch and German languages, tho so nearly related to our own; we may say with Jerom, Aures noftre penitus reformidant. On the other hand, our vowel I is peculiar to ourselves; our sound of CH, familiar to the Spaniards and Italians, is unutterable to the French; and our two founds to of TH, familiar to the Greeks at the farther corner of Europe, who express them by their 9 and & is unknown, and scarcely to

generally to so Engilfaren, we hould be at a lofe to affirm to those (1) Hieronym. de Locis Hebraicis, voce Ramasses

CHAP. pleted, would still be tong in gaining the new ceffary authority of popular use in a half-pour lished nation, wanting commodious materials; and divided into independent flates unnumbered. Nor do these circumstances rest upon furmize. We have a plain account of them in Herodotus, which bears in itself every appearance of being well-founded, and affifted by what we know of oriental orthography, and what we learn from antient Greek inferiorious on marbles yet existing, becomes in every part intelligible, and almost circumstantial. The Cadmeians, that author fays, at first used Letters exactly after the Phenician manner. But in process of time, their language receiving alterations, they changed also the power of some of their letters. Examples of Cadmeian letters, thus accommodated to Grecian speech, were remaining in the historian's time: who affirms that he saw them on some tripods in the temple of Apollo Ismenius at Thebes, the inscriptions on which he has transmitted to us. In this state letters passed, he continues, to the Ionian Greeks of Attica, and other neighbouring provinces.

Herodot. 1. 5. c. 59.

> be pronounced, by any other Buropean people. If then England was at this day without letters, and an alphabet was acquired from the French, our nearest neighbours, from whom a large proportion of our language has been borrowed, it would not be the bufiness of a moment to apply that alphabet to our purpose. How should we express our TH, our CH, our I, and F, and our diphthong OUP While hesitating about these, we should find the French U fuperfluous; we have no fuch found in our language; and, puzled by their nafal utterance of M and N, fo strange and fo difagreeable to an English ear, we should be at a loss to assign to those characters their proper office.

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By these some farther alterations were made; but the letters, he fays, were still called Phenician. The principal additions, which the melodious founds and accurate harmony of the Greek language required, were to the vowels. No fyllable was fuffered to be without its vowel written. Yet all the nice discriminations of vowel-founds in the voice, even of those effential to the harmony of the language, were not at last expressed by written characters; tho in the end, inftead of three difcriminating vowelletters, probably received from the East, the Greeks used seven vowel-letters of different powers, befide many combinations of vowels, called diphthongs; which, whatever composition of found may be supposed in them, were fo far simple founds that each could contribute to the formation of but a fingle fyllable. From the Greek was derived the Latin orthography, and thence that of all western Europe; among which the English, being the most irregular and imperfect, approaches nearest in character to the oriental 49. of the frequency of the color

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⁴⁹ The vowels of the Greek alphabet, in the earliest state in which it becomes known to us, were only four, A, E, I, O. The gradual additions have been traced in old infcriptions, and their history confirmed from passages of Greek and Roman authors (1). The invention or introduction of particular letters by Palamedes, Simonides, and others, to whom it has been attributed, is not ascertained on any authority (2). The vowels of the antient Etruscan alphabet were only four, A, E, I, U (3). But

⁽¹⁾ See Shuckford's Connection. b. 4.

⁽²⁾ Montfaucon. Palæograph. Græc. l. 2. c. r.

⁽³⁾ Gor. Muf. Etrusc. Prolegom. p. 48. & t. 2. p. 405.

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CHAP

But during the centuries while the Grecian alphabet was thus receiving its form, some very remarkable changes took place also in the method of writing; partly perhaps in consequence of the delay in establishing the alphabet, and itself no doubt a hindrance to the progress of letters among the Grecian people. It seems not questionable that, on the first introduction of letters into Greece, the oriental manner of arranging them obtained, from the right to-

the end, inflead of three diforimination vowell

Aftle on the Origin and Progress of Writing, c. 5.

> the Greek O, and the Etruscan U, like the Hebrew ; in the time of Jerom, and the Arabic and Persian) at this day, were originally used both for the simple found of O, and for that which was afterward diftinguished by the diphthong OY; which had probably also a simple found only, as it has now in the modern Greek, like the Fre as ou, the English oo, and the Italian w. Hence also it appears probable, that the Greek termination of and the Latin w had nearly the fame enunciation; and hence perhaps, rather than from any intended preference of the Latin ablative, the Italians, in dropping the s, have been led to substitute o for the Latin u. If the orthography of our own language was not almost too irregular for example, we might produce many words in which e has the found of u; but it deserves observation, that our usual short found of u, which is peculiar to ourselves, resembles so nearly the Italian short sound of o, that the Italians, and also the French, use the letter o to express it. The Greek v we know for certain to have had a very different found from the Latin s, the long found of which was in Greek represented by the diphthong ou, and the short by the vowel o. The modern Greeks also represent by their diphthong ou, the Italian vowel u, or our oo. The modern Greek v, the Italian u, the French u, and the English w, have all different powers. What precifely was the power of the antient Greek v we cannot certainly know: but strong national partiality only, and determined habit, could lead to the imagination cherished by some French critics, to whom otherwise Grecian literature has high obligation, that it was a found so unpleasant, produced by a position of the lips so ungraceful, as the French #.

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ward the left. Afterward the practice arole of SECT forming the lines alternately from right to left, and from left to right; and then it became cuftomary to begin from the left, and return in the fecond line to the left again, At length, about the time of the Persian invasion, several centuries after Cadmus, this alternate arrangement was finally disused, and the Greeks wrote only from the left toward the right. In this practice they have been followed by all the European nations, while the orientals still hold the original method of arranging their characters from the right toward the left.

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After the general excellence of the Greek language, the perfection which its POETRY attained, at an era beyond almost all memorials. except what that poetry itself has preserva ed, becomes an object of high curiofity. In vain, however, would we inquire for the origin of that verse which, tho means no longer exist for learning to express its proper harmony, still, by a charm almost magical, pleases univerfally. But it was the ignorance of letters that gave poetry its consequence in the early ages. To affift memory was perhaps the origiginal purpose for which verse was invented: certainly it was among its most important uses. How necessary even such precarious assistance was, and how totally the furer help of letters was wanting, we may judge from the difficulty which Homer ascribes to the exact recital of a Iliad. 1. s. catalogue of names. Hence Memory was dei- Heffod. fied: hence the Muses were called her imme- v. 52. &

diate 915.

CHAP diate offspring. For this also, among other causes, poetry has in all countries preceded regular profe composition. Laws were, among the early Greeks, always promulgated in verfe, and often publicly fung; a practice which remained, in some places, long after letters were become common so: morality was taught, hiftory was delivered in verfe : lawgivers, philofophers, historians, all who would apply their experience or their genius to the instruction or amusement of others, were necessarily poets. The character of poet was therefore a character of dignity: an opinion even of facredness became attached to it: a poetical genius was esteemed an effect of divine inspiration, and a mark of divine favor 51: and the poet, who moreover carried with him instruction and entertainment no way to be obtained without him. was a privileged person, injoying, by a kind of prescription, the rights of universal hospitality. These circumstances would contribute to improve and to fix the language. But fimilar cir-

cumstances have been common in other nations

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³⁰ Πρίτ Ιπίτανθαι γράμματα ίδοι τους τόμους, όπως μη Ιπιλάθω-Tai" worse is Ayabigoos iti indaos. Ariftot. Probl. feet. 19. art 28. Strabo informs us (1) that even in his time, Nouvolk LAW-SINGER was the title of a principal magistrate at Mazaca in Cappadocia, where the code of the Sicilian legislator Charondas was the established law.

⁵¹ Auredidaxto: & igni Sioc de pol le perois sepus Hastolas leipuour Pioner aftribes to the fays the bard Phemius.

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53 According to all traditions, it was before Homer's time that letters were communicated from Phenicia to Greece; yet, upon the supposition that their use was familiarly known to him, it would be extremely difficult to account for the importance which he attributes to memory, and his total filence about fo invaluable an affiltant to it. The prefumption that Homer wrote, or that his poems were written for him under his direction, is supported meerly by the argument of necessity, the imagined impossibility that works like his could be composed amid the helpless ignorance of a people without letters, or that they could be preferved, even supposing them so composed. Dr. Johnson, whose days were passed in a closet, who knew nothing but by the instrumentality of letters, and could communicate his knowlege only by his pen and ink, had full faith in that impossibility, and soverein contempt for fuch a people. But Plato, who had been accustomed to constant and extensive communication among men, in an age when letters; were well known, but the common use of them still recent, and who had himself learnt the philosophy of Socrates without their affiftance, certainly thought very differently on the subject (1): and I am much more disposed, in regard to such a matter, to defer to the authority of Plato than of Dr. Johnson.

With regard to the manuara which the poet tells us were fent by Bellerophon, from Corinth into Lycia, supposing Mr. Wood wrong in holding it to have been a picture rather than a letter, and that it was already usual in Homer's age to write on tablets of board covered with wax, which we know was the way in which the Greeks managed epistolary correspondence some centuries after him, it would ftill remain to be shown how volumes like the Iliad and Odyssee could be preserved in writing. For myself, I will own that I believe Mr. Wood right in his explanation of the γράμματα. It is not a subject on which I would inlarge here, yet I will not quit it without noticing a deficiency in our dictionaries: the word yanus isused for a picture, by Plato (2), and by Theocritus (3), and possibly by other writers, yet neither Hederic

nor Schrevelius have noticed that use of it.

⁽¹⁾ See Plato's Phædrus, p. 275. v. 3. (2) De repub. L 5. p. 472. (3) Idyll. 15. v. 81.

CHAP.

The character of the Language of a people must always considerably influence the characted of their Music. Among the Greeks, Mufic had evidently fome natural connection with verse, which no modern European language knows, and which therefore we now in vain would ferutinize. What indeed the mufic itfelf of the antients ever was, we have little means of judging, as none of it has been transmitted intelligible to us; but that the very early Grecian music had extraordinary merit, we have Plato's testimony in very remarkable words "; and Aristotle, generally enough difposed to differ from his master, upon this subject coincides in judgement with him 54. In Homer's time we find both firinged and wind instruments familiar 45, Poetry feems to have been always fung, and the accompaniment of an instrument to have been esteemed essential st. Farther of the music of Homer's age we can only judge from analogy. Probably it was very inartificial. But it appears a folecism to suppofe that those elegant perceptions and nice organs, which gave form to the most harmonious the Greates manuscoll entitle over boundered it an contains the

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53 See note 2. p. 52. of this Volume. The Manual times to make the

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³⁴ Ολύμπου μελή όμολογουμένως ποῦν τὰς Ισχάς ἐνθουςιστικάς, Ατίπος, Polit. 1. 4,

The strings were, like those now used, of the guts of sheep twisted, as we are informed by Homer in the Odyssee, 1. 21. v. 408.

Thus it feems also to have been with our rude Anglosaxon ancestors; for the great Alfred, as it is remarked by bishop Percy in his Essay on the Minstrels, translates Cantare by the words be harpan singan, to sing to the harp; as if there was no singing without an instrument.

Janguage ever spoken among men, and guided SECT. invention to the structure of that verse which, even under the gross disguise of modern pronunciation, is ftill univerfally charming, could have produced or could have tolerated a vicious or inclegant stile of music. Extreme simplicity in mufic is perfectly confishent with elegance, and the most affecting music generally is most tripod, therein mize for writing at challend

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Confidering the imperfection of civil government, and the confequent infecurity of property, greater advances had already, in Homer's age, been made in many Arts conducing to convenience and elegance of living, than might have been expected. AGRICULTURE, in various branches, appears to have been carried on with great regularity. It is remarked by Cicero that De Senec-Hefiod, in his poem on husbandry, makes no tute. mention of manure: but Homer expressly speaks Odys. 1. of dunging land, as well as of plowing, fowing, 17. V. 299. reaping corn and mowing grass. The culture of the vine also was well understood, and the making of wine carried through the different processes with much attention and knowlege. This is evident from various circumstances mentioned by Homer, and particularly from Odystl. a. the age to which wines were kept: Nestor pro- 1. 9. v. duced some, at a facrifice, eleven years old. 20 Oil from the olive was in use: but the culture v. 390. of the tree appears not to have been extensive. In Alcinous's garden the vineyard is a principal Odyff. 1. feature by itself; but the olive is only found in 7. V. 112. the orchard, with the apple, the pear, the pom-

granate,

GHAP. granate, and the fig H. Pasturage has generally preceded tillage, and herds and flocke conftituted the principal riches of Homer's time. Cattle, in the fearcity, or perhaps non-existence of coin, were the most usual measure of the value of commodities. The golden armour of Glaucus, we are told, was worth a hundred

Iliad. 1. 6. V. 236.

oxen: the brazen armour of Diomed nine: the tripod, the first prize for wrestling at the funeral of Patroclus, was valued at twelve oxen; the female flave, the fecond prize, at four.

Iliad. I. 23. V. 702.

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When Eumæus, in the Odyffee, would convey Odyff. 1. 14. V. 100. an idea of the opulence of Ulviles, he tells nei-

convenience and elecance of living, than relight 37 Tho the interpreture of the Greek and Latin languages find in nothing more frequent and more insuperable difficulties than in the names of plants, yet the fruits mentioned by Homer, as the produce of Alcinous's garden, feem certainly to have been those which we know by the names of Apple, Pear, Pomgranate, and Fig. Cousin Despréaux, in his History of Greece, has interpreted Malias to fignify Oranges: but the Orange, with many other of the more delicate fruits of Asia, were, evidently enough, unknown, or at least unproduced; in Greece for ages after Homer. The Apple is fill common there, and fill called Mixor; and all the other ordinary fruits preserve their autient names; Even is still a Fig, Exam an Olive, Karam a Chefout; and, with very little alteration of the old words, 'Pool and Pool a Pomgranate, Arid, a Pear, Drupin, a Grape, Aparin a Vine, Kieno, a Cherry, Homen a Melon; but an Orange is Nagari. When the Orange became known to the antient Greeks and Romans, it was, like the Peach, Apricot, and others, called indeed Makes, Malum, but with a diffinguishing epithet derived from the country whence it was imported, Mixos Madada, or fometimes, from its rich color, Milas yeurous. 12 300 314000 0012

M. Barthelemi (quoting for authority Antiphon as cited by Athenaus, b. 3. c. 7. p. 84.) lays that the citron was imported from Perfia into Greece a little after the Peloponnelian war. Anachartis, c. 59-men sels elegas sell driw brenero sal

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ther of the extent of his lands, nor the quantity THE. of his moveables, but of his herds and flocks only. But commerce feems to have been carried on intirely by exchange. In the Iliad we have a description of a supply of wine brought Hist. 1. by fea to the Grecian camp, where it is bought 7. V. 467. by fome, fays the poet, with brafs, by fome with iron, by fome with hides, by fome with the cattle themselves, by some with slaves.

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The art of Masonry appears to have been not mean in Homer's time. The opulent had houses of stone, Homer calls it polished stone, perhaps Odys. 1. meaning only fquared and well-wrought stone, with numerous and spacious apartments for flate as well as for convenience; and it was with no small state that they were waited upon in them by numerous attendants. A late ingenious and learned author has remarked that Sir Ed. bathing, always a favourite article of eastern Barry on the Wines luxury, was in Homer's time carried to a high of the Anpitch of convenience, and even of elegance; tents and that it declined after him, and remained in a ruder state till it was restored, some centuries after, by Hippocrates, for medicinal purpofes. It is indeed probable that luxury may have declined in more than one article after Homer's age, and from more than one cause. For the present, however, it may suffice to observe, that when Greece raifed those sumptuous public buildings which, for elegance of taste and excellence of workmanship, the most informed and refined of other nations have ever fince studied and never yet equalled, the private nelot " dwellings

CEAP. dwellings appear to have been fcarcely in any. thing superior to those of Homer's time. For, weak and unfettled as law and government then were, the diffinction of rank and difference of property being very great, princes and a few 7. V. 187. opulent persons had the means of indulging themselves in expences which, afterward amid republican equality, if any could afford, the levelling spirit of the times made dangerous to a of Massaca a spucerage in

But, as we have already remarked, Homer

claims nothing of that fuperiority in art or fcience for his fellowcountrymen which they afterward fo juftly made their boaft. On the contrary, he ascribes to Phenicia preëminence in the arts, and to Egypt in riches and population. Ornamental works in metals, in ivory, in wool, we find were not uncommon in Greece in his time: the art of gilding filver, or permad. 1. haps rather of plating filver with gold, was already known; and the fame art of dying crimfon, which became fo highly efteemed in the times of luxury and refinement among both Greeks and Romans, appears to have had its origin before Homer ... We have in the Odyffee the following lift of presents to a lady: 18. v. 291. A tunic, large, beautiful, variegated; twelve

Odyff. 1.

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OdyiE.L.

Iliad. 1.

9. V. 381,

the Wunn

33. V. 139.

Sir 26.

35 The expression along over (Odyst. 1. 6. v. 53.) feems to warrant this opinion lands Joy Tovon

golden hooks were on it, nicely fitted to

well-bent eyes; a golden necklace of elegant

workmanship, fet with amber, and highly working manney, the

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Tplendid; a pair of three-drop carrings ex SECT quifitely brilliant: another ornament for the neck is added. for which we want a name. It rather appears, however, that these admired works of art were not the produce of Greece. In another place Homer describes a merchant Odyst. 1. offering to fale a golden necklace fet with am- 15. v. 458. ber: but that merchant was a Phenician: a filver bowl is described excelling all that ever were feen; ' for,' adds the poet, ' Sidonian Iliad. 1. artists made it, and Phenicians brought it 23. v. 744. over the fea; and when Hecuba was particularly anxious to make an acceptable offering to Minerva, the felected a veil from her store of the works of Sidonian women. It feems indeed to have been a regular part of the Pheni- Iliad. 1. cian commerce to fend toys for ventures to the 6. v. 289. Grécian ports 39. Handicraft arts were not vet become trades in Greece: even princes exercifing them for themselves. Ulysses, not odys. 1. only'in his diftress was a skilful boatbuilder, 23. V. 189. but in the height of opulence made his own bedftead, adorning it with gold, filver, and ivory.

COMMERCE, in the Homeric age, appears to have been principally in the hands of the Phenicians. The carrying trade of the Mediter- Herodot. ranean was early theirs, and Sidon was the 1.1. c. 1. great feat of manufacture. The Greeks were

- Dolomes savoluduros Autos antes. Τρώτται, μυρί άγοντις άθύρματα να μελάνη. Odyff. 1. 15. V. 415.

Vol. I. M

not

Thucyd. l. t. c. 5.

CHAR not without traffic carried on by fea among themselves, but the profession of merchant had evidently not in Homer's time that honorable estimation which yet, according to Plu-Plutarch. tarch, it acquired at an early period in Greece. vit. Solon. While it was thought not unbecoming a prince Odyst it to be a carpenter to supply his own wants or 3, v. 71. & luxuries, to be a merchant for gain was held but as a mean employment: a pirate was a more respected character of

The ART of WAR is among the arts of ne-- 政治でいないを他 ceffity, which all people; the rudest equally and the most polished, must cultivate, or ruin will follow the neglect. The circumstances of Greece were in some respects peculiarly favorable to the improvement of this art, Divided into little states, the capital of each, with the greater part of the territory, generally within a day's march of feveral neighbouring states, which might be enemies, and feldom were thoroughly to be trusted as friends, while from the establishment of slavery arose everywhere perpetual danger of a domestic foe, it was of peculiar necessity both for every individual to be a foldier, and for the community to pay unremitted attention to military affairs. Accordingly we find that, so early as Homer's time. the Greeks had improved confiderably upon that tumultuary warfare alone known to many barbarous nations, who yet have prided themfelves in the practice of war for successive centuries. Several terms used by the poet, together with his descriptions of marches, indi-300 cate

care that orders of battle were in his time regularly formed in ranks and files. Steadiness in the foldier, that foundation of all those powers which diftinguish an army from a mob, and which to this day forms the highest praise of the best troops, we find in great perfection in the Iliad. ' The Grecian phalanges,' fays the poet, marched in close order, the leaders Iliad. 1.4. directing each his own band. The rest were mute: infomuch that you would fay in fo great a multitude there was no voice. Such was the filence with which they respectfully

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officers." Confidering the deficiency of iron, the Grecian troops appear to have been very well armed, both for offence and defence. Their defensive armour confisted of a helmet, a breastplate, and greaves, all of brass, and a fhield, commonly of bull's hide, but often strengthened with brass. The breastplate appears to have met the belt, which was a confiderable defence to the belly and groin: and with an appendant skirt guarded also the thighs. All together covered the forepart of the foldier from the throat to the ancle; and the shield was a superadded protection for every part. The bulk of the Grecian troops were infantry thus heavily armed, and formed in close order, many ranks deep. Any body, formed in ranks and files, close and deep, without regard to a specific number of either ranks or files, was generally termed a pha-M 2

CHAP. lanx . But the Locrians, under Oilean Ajax. were all light-armed; bows were their principal weapons, and they never ingaged in close fight to the same opening to the ground

Iliad.l.11. V. 722.

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Riding on horseback was yet little practised, the it appears to have been not unknown 62. Some centuries, however, passed before it was generally applied in Greece to military purposes; the mountainous ruggedness of the country preventing any extensive use of cavalry, except among the Theffalians, whose territory was a large plain. But in the Homeric armies no chief was without his charriot, drawn generally by two, fometimes by three horfes; and these chariots of war make a principal figure in Homer's battles. Neftor, forming the army for action, composes the first line of chariots only. In the fecond he places that part of the infantry in which he has least confidence; and

villandida 60 Homer applies the term equally to the Trojan as to the Grecian troops. Iliad. 1. 4. v. 332. & 1. 6. v. 83.

or Homer has been evidently far more convertant in military matters than Hefiod. Yet there would probably be men of Locris to whom the epithet axximaxon, which Hefiod gives to the Locrians of Amphitryon's army (1), would be properly applied.

82 No person of Agamemnon's time is mentioned by Homer as riding on horseback, except Diomed, when, with Ulysses, he made prize of the horses of Rhesus (2). A simile in the 15th book of the Iliad (3) has been supposed to prove that horsemanship was greatly improved in the poet's age. It should however be observed that, in the former instance, riding is mentioned familiarly, and not at all as a new or extraordinary device; and that, on the contrary, in the latter, an exhibition of [kil] is spoken of, which attracted the attention and excited the admiration of all the people of a large city.

⁽¹⁾ Scut. Here, v. 25. (2) Iliad. l. 10. v. 513. (3) 7. 679.

then forms a third line, or referve, of the most SECT. approved troops. It feems extraordinary that chariots should have been so extensively used in war as we find they were in the early ages. In the wide plains of Asia indeed we may account for their introduction, as we may give them credit for utility: but how they should become fo general among the inhabitants of rocky, mountainous Greece; how the distant Britons should arrive at that surprizing perfection in the use of them, which we find they possessed when the Roman legions first invaded this iland, especially as the same mode of fighting was little, if at all practifed among the Gauls and Germans, is less obvious to conjecture 63. There is however a passage in Herodotus, which furnishes at least some degree of folution for the difficulty. The country north of the Danube, he fays, abounded with horfes, Herod. 1. very fmall but fwift and hardy. Unable to 5. c. 9. carry men, they were commonly used in chariots, and thus made highly ferviceable. In the early ages probably, through deficiency of pasture at some seasons of the year, horses would not generally attain any confiderable

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62 Arrian (1) fays, that the Gauls and Germans did not use chariots in war. Strabo says, that some tribes of the Gauls did use them. But Cæsar's omission of all mention of the practice among those nations is ample proof that, if it obtained at all, it was not extensive:

fize in Greece or in Britain; and the Afiatic

practice of using chariots in war, if through

⁽¹⁾ Tad. p. 52. od. Amftel. & Lipz. 1750.

De Bello Gall. 1. 4. C. 9.

CHAP the Phenician commerce, or any other means, onde communicated, might thus readily obtain, even in our distant iland. Cæfar's praise of the British chariot-forces, that they possessed at the same time the celerity of horse, and the stability of foot, is no vulgar praise; tho, to us at this day, it is not very clear, from his description, how such a method of fighting should earn it. monistration without

The combat of the chiefs, fo repeatedly deferibed by Homer, advancing to ingage fingly in front of their line of battle, is apt to ftrike a modern reader with an appearance of abfurdity perhaps much beyond the reality. Before the use of fire-arms that practice was not uncommon when the art of war was at its greatest perfection. Cæfar himfelf gives, with evident fatisfaction, a very particular account of a remarkable advanced combat in which, not generals indeed, but two centurions of his army ingaged. The Grecian chiefs of the heroic age, like the knights of the times of chivalry, had armour probably very superior to that of the common foldiers; and this, with the additional advantage of superior skill, acquired by affiduous practice amid unbounded leifure, would make this fkirmishing much less dangerous than on first consideration it may appear. The effects also to be expected from it were not unimportant: for it was very possible for a few men of Superior Strength, activity, and skill, superior also by the excellence of their defenfive armour, to create diforder in the close array

De Bello Gall. 1. 5.

array of the enemy's phalanx. They threw their SECT. weighty javeline from a distance, whitenone dared advance to meet them but chiefs equally well armed with themselves; and from the soldiers in the ranks they had little to fear, because, in that close order, the dart could not be thrown with any advantage in. Occasionally indeed we find fome person of inferior name advancing to throw his javelin at a chief occupied against fome other, but retreating again immediately into the ranks: a refource not difdained by the greatest heroes when danger pressed. Hector himfelf having thrown his javelin ineffectually Iliad.l.14. at Ajax, retires toward his phalanx, but is overtaken by a stone of enormous weight, which brings him to the ground. If from the death or wounds of chiefs, or flaughter in the foremost ranks of foldiers, any confusion arose in the phalanx, the fnock of the enemy's phalanx, advancing in perfect order, must be irrefifcharacter of fighting foldiers; as general sldig

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face of battles depended to

for The valt force with which the heroes of old are reported to have thrown their javelins is, I know with fome, almost an incredibility; but those who have seen the Armenian Philippo throw a stick (the man who communicated to the Society for Incouragement of Arts the method of preparing Turkey leather) will know that Homer's descriptions require little if any allowance for poetical exaggeration. Philippo had been a horse-soldier in the Persian service.

^{*} The expressions iξάλμινος,—in y εθοςε προμάχων (1),—iψ δτάρων λες θνος εχεζετο (2), applied to the chiefs; and είχει άλθμο, — τυργοδοί άρυροτες (3), applied to the phalanx, mark clearly the M 4

⁽a) Hiad. l. 15. v. 571. 579. (2) Hiad. l. 13. v. 165. & l. 14. v. 408. (3) Hiad. l. 15. v. 615 & 618.

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CHAP. Another practice common in Homer's time is by no means equally defensible, but on the contrary marks great barbarifm; that of flopping in the heat of action to ftrip the flain. Often this paltry passion for possessing the spoil of the enemy superseded all other, even the most important and most deeply interesting Iliad. 1. 5. objects of battle. The poet himfelf was not 1, 6. v. 67. unaware of the danger and inconveniency of the practice, and feems even to have aimed at a reformation of it. We find indeed, in Homer's warfare, a remarkable mixture of barbarlfm with regularity. The the art of forming an army in phalanx was known and commonly practifed, yet the business of a general, in directing its operations, was loft in the passion, or we may call it fashion, of the great men to fignalize themselves by acts of personal courage and skill in arms. Achilles and Hector, the first heroes of the Iliad, excel only in the character of fighting foldiers: as generals and directors of the war, they are inferior to many. Indeed while the fate of battles depended fo much on the skirmishing of the chiefs, we cannot wonder that the prejudice should obtain which fet the able arm, in vulgar estimation, above the able head. But the poet obvioufly means to expose the abfurdity and mischievous

Iliad. 1. 18. V. 106 & 252.

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difference of the two modes of ingagement. The masner of a general ingagement in Homer's time may perhaps belt be gathered from the 13th book of the Iliad: that of the close fight of infantry, in particular, from the action under the direction of Ajax, described in the 17th book. confe-

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confequence of that prejudice, where he makes fliad,1.72. Hector, in a late repentance, acknowlede the Y. 99. fuperior abilities of Polydamas. Yet Homer's own idea of the duties of an officer, tho he certainly poffeffed very extensive and very accurate knowlege both of the theory and practice of war of his own age, was still very imperfect. Of all the leaders in the Iliad, unless we should except Ulysses and Nestor, Agamemnon is represented as most indowed with the qualifications of a general; and yet, coming forward in the midst of a doubtful battle, when we Iliad. I. s. might expect the able commander to show him- Vid & felf, we find nothing more from him than ex- 14. v. 128. hortation to bold exertion. Merion, an officer very high both in rank and estimation, happening to break his spear in action, immedia Had. 112. ately quits his command to go to his tent and v. 246. provide himself with another weapon. Nestor, Iliad. 1.4. giving orders for an approaching battle, calls v. 293the infantry ' the prop of war;' but his directions are almost confined to the charioteers, and even to them discretionary: and, upon the whole, to show the troops the way, more than to command them, feems to have been the bufiness of the chiefs. Excepting indeed in the fingle circumstance of forming the army in order of battle, so far from the general, we fcarcely ever discover even the officer among Homer's heroes. It is not till most of the principal Grecian leaders are disabled by wounds from doing the duty of foldiers, that at length they so far take upon themselves that of

CHAP of officers as to endeavour to reftore order among their broken phalanges: and even this is not done but at the particular infligation of the god Neptune. The introduction of a deity here may lead to suppose that the poet himself had ideas of the bufiness of officers superior to the practice of his age. But after only general expressions concerning the attention paid to refore order and give efficacy to the phalanges", we find a detail of methods taken to make the most of the particular strength and skill of the ablest individuals, as if that were a matter of greater importance imay side and Chique Magna

We might, however, yet more wonder at another deficiency in Homer's art of war, were it not still universal throughout those rich and populous countries where mankind was first civilized; even among the Turks, who, far as they have fored over the finest part of Europe, retain pertinaciously every defect of their antient Affatic customs, the easy and apparently obvious precaution of posting and relieving fentries, fo effential to the fafety of armies, being utterly unknown. When, in the ill turn of the Grecian affairs, constant readiness for defence became more particularly necessary, it is mentioned as an inftance of foldiership in the active Diomed, that he flept on his arms fearcely level difference even the officer and

ne same time, Τρῶας δ' ἀὐδ' ἐτίρωθα ἐκόσμες Φάιδιμος Επτως. V. 388.

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without his tent: but no kind of watch was SECT. kept: all his men were at the fame time afleep around him: and the other leaders were yet less prepared against surprize. A guard, indeed, scheded from the army, was set, in the manner of a modern grand-guard or out-post: but, the commanded by two officers high both in rank and reputation, yet the commander in chief expresses his fear that, overcome with fatigue, the whole guard might fall afleep and totally forget their duty ". The Trojans, who at the same time after their success slept on the field of battle, had no guard appointed by authority, but depended wholly upon the interest which every one had in preventing a furprize: They exhorted one another to be watchful," fays the poet. But the allies all flept; and he Had. I. subjains the reason, ' For they had no children 10. 'or wives at hand,' However, tho Homer does not expressly blame the defect, or propose a remedy, yet he gives, in the surprize of Rhefus, an instance of the disasters to which armies are exposed by intermission of watching, that might admonish his fellowcountrymen to improve their practice.

The Greeks, and equally the Trojans and Iliad. 1. their allies, incamped with great regularity, 10. V. 471. and fortified, if in danger of an attack from a fuperior enemy. Indeed Homer ascribes no superiority in the art of war, or even in perso-

- Φυλακής Ιποσάγχο λάθωνται. Iliad. l. 10. V. 99.

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CHAP.

V. 437.

nal courage, to his fellowcountrymen. Even those inland Asiatics, afterward so unwarlike. are put by him upon a level with the bravest people. He gives the Mylians the character of persevering bravery "; and the Lycians are included with the Trojans and Dardanians under a very honorable epithet, which beforeks them. approved good foldiers in close fight ". The cumultuous noise in the Trojan army, mentioned in the same passage of the Iliad where Iliad. 1. 4. the praise of steady silence is given to the Greeks, the poet himfelf expressly accounts, for; afcribing it, not to any inferiority in difcipline, but to the variety of languages spoken among the Trojan allies, which made the delivery of orders, and acting in concert, works of difficulty. Tents, like those now in use, feem to have been a late invention. The antients, on defultory expeditions, and in marching through a country, flept with no shelter but their cloaks, as our light troops often carry none but a blanket. When they remained long on a spot they hutted. Achilles's tent or hut was built of fir, and thatched with reeds; and it feems to have had feveral apartments.

Iliad.1.24. v. 488. Iliad. l. 9. T. 659.

> NAVIGATION had been much practifed, long before Homer, in fmall open vessels, nearly fuch as are still common in the Mediterranean;

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Oxlos as Æschylus contemptuously calls them, Perf. p. 127. ed. H. Steph.

⁶⁵ Kagragodipus. Iliad. 1. 14. v. 512.

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and the poet gives no hint of any late advance. SECT. ment of the art. The feas, indeed, which nearly furround Greece, are fingularly adverse to improvements upon that vast scale which oceans require, and which modern times have produced. Broken by innumerable capes and ilands, with coasts mostly mountainous, and in fome parts of extraordinary height, the Grecian feas are beyond all others subject to sudden and violent storms. These united circumflances, which have made the Greeks of all ages excellent boatmen, have contributed much to prevent them from becoming feamen. The skill and experience of the pilot, in the modern fense of the term, are constantly wanted: the science of the navigator is of little avail: even the compass is comparatively useless in the Ægean. The Mediterranean veffels now. not excepting the French, which are mostly navigated by Mediterranean failors, never keep the fea there but with a fair wind. The English alone, accustomed in all their furrounding waters to a bolder navigation, commonly venture in the Archipelago to work to windward?1. Sails were used in fair winds in Homer's time:

71 Mr. Wood, in his Essay on Homer, has remarked an analoyous circumstance in the navigation of the Adriatic. I remember to have heard an English captain of a Turkey-ship, a man of knowlege and character, fay, that he did not scruple, in tolerable weather, to work to windward within the Arches (as our feamen call the Archipelago, which is itself a corruption of the modern Greek Aigiopelago) but he made it a rule never to take off his clothes, and, without leaving orders to be called in the

instant

CHAP.

but the art of failing was extremely imperfect. The mariner's dependence was on his oars. which no veffel was without. For in feas fo land-locked, yet fo tempeftuous, the greatest danger was to the stoutest ship. Light vessels, which with their oars could creep along the coast, watch the weather, make way in calms, and, on any threatening appearance, find shelter in shoal water or upon an open beach, were what Grecian navigation peculiarly required. The Phenicians, for their commerce, used deeper ships, accommodated to their more open feas and longer voyages. But with fuch weapons only as the antients knew, and in feat where calms as well as ftorms were frequent, veffels of the galley kind, which, by their oars, could attack, or oppose attacks, on all fides, in all winds, or without wind, were alone fit for naval action. Without artillery indeed, ships like the modern could fearcely at all ingage. The term long thips, both with Greeks and Romans, commonly distinguished their ships of war from veffels of burden, which were uge in the Atchipelago to work to work rande.

infant of any threatening appearance in the fky, or any dubious fight of land, never to quit his deck.

Since the first publication of this note, I have observed that Mr. Gibbon derives Archipelago from "Ayio; πίλωγος, Holy sea, so called, he says, from the "Ayio; ορος, Monte santo, Holy mountain, formerly Athos. All the modern people of the south of Europe have indeed been fond of sainting everything. Thus the Sabine mountain, so well known from Horace by its antient name Sorach, is become with the modern Italians Sant 'Oreste, and thus possibly some of the modern Greeks may have converted "Arying πίλαγος into "Ayio; πίλαγος,

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called round thips. Mr. Wood has supposed SECT. that naval actions were unknown in Homer's time: but this appears unlikely, and fome terms used by the poet seem to prove the contrary 12. The Grecian vessels were yet without Thucyd. decks: anchors also were unknown; nor does 1. 1. c. 10. there feem any foundation for a common notion, that large stones were used as anchors. It was usual to moor vessels to large stones found or placed on the shore 18: but when any flay was made at a port, the veffel itself was drawn out of the water upon the beach. For the manner of antient navigation requiring that the construction of the vessel should be adapted to rowing more than failing, the depth of the veffel must be small, and the hands to work it many. Accommodations were therefore unavoidably feanty; and health as well as convenience would require that the crew should live ashore when not wanted aboard. We may compute the fize of the largest vessels used in Homer's age, from the greatest number of men mentioned to have been carried by any one veffel of Agamemnon's fleet, which was one hundred and twenty; or perhaps still better from the crew of the Phæacian veffel appointed to carry Ulysses to Ithaca; they were fifty-two, Odyst. 1. all rowers. This veffel had a moveable maft, 8. v. 34mentioned in the fingular number, and fails in 54

Odyff. 1. 13. V. 77.

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²⁹ Particularly 7404020. Iliad. l. 15. v. 389. & 677.

^{72 -} Harana & thoras and reprose Albone.

CHAP. the plural. Hempen cordage feems to have been unknown: its purpofes were supplied by leathern thongs. The principal constellations of our hemisphere, and the apparent courses of the fun and ftars had been observed; with the help of which the Greeks were able to navigate as far as Cyprus, Phenicia and Egypt's, tho their commerce yet feldom led them beyond the Ægean. The feas westward of Greece were less practifed. Sicily remained a subject for fable, as the habitation of giants and monfters. The dangers of the Adriatic shores to coasting navigators kept them unexplored: and Strabo, deducing his proof from Homer, fays that the Euxine was thought another ocean, and little more known than the Atlantic.

Wood on Homer. Strab. 1. L. p. 21.

one

Of the sciences, ASTRONOMY would naturally be among the first to ingage the attention of men. Its objects can neither escape notice, nor fail of exciting wonder; and its utility would quickly become obvious. The means of computing times and feafons, to know when new fruits and fresh harvests might be expected, were among first necessities. The fun, by its apparent daily revolution, gave a division of time perfectly obvious and highly ufeful; but not affording easy means for proceeding to the computation of seasons. It would soon be obferved, even in low latitudes, that the feafons

> * See the account of Ulysses' voyage from the iland of Calypfo (1). With a fair wind all the way, he was seventeen days - How and the most be well out of fight of land.

(1) Odyff. 1. g. v. 270.

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followed the fun's apparent annual revolution; but to calculate that revolution; with any approach to accuracy, was a bufiness not soon to be accomplished. The moon therefore, by the striking and rapid changes in its appearance, was, among the celestial luminaries, the readiest instrument for calculation of time beyond a small number of days; and has accordingly been the first used among all uncultivated people. Hence, and not from any predeliction for darkness and gloomy ideas, to which it has been absurdly enough attributed, arose that practice of our Teutonic ancestors, which we still in part retain, of reckoning time by nights rather than by days. It became then the bufiness, through the obvious changes of the moon, to ascertain the less discernible but far more important changes of the fun, which govern the seasons. Twelve revolutions of the inferior were found nearly equal to one of the greater luminary; and three hundred and fifty-four days, or twelve months of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately, were accordingly affigned for the term of a year. This method of computing time feems to have passed from the East into Greece; where it became so established for the purpose of ascertaining the return of days for civil business and teligious ceremonies, that, notwithstanding its extreme inconveniences, the more accurate subsequent calculations of the year could never intirely supersede its use. But a year thus deficient by near eleven days and a half of the real period of the earth's revolution Vol. I. round

CHAP.

round the fun, prefently led to fo erroneous a computation of feafons, that the hufbandman particularly would find it utterly unfit for his purpose. In climates, therefore, where the sky was feldom long obfcured by vapors, the stars were foon found to be far more accurate directors than the moon; while their changes were far more readily diftinguished than those of the fun. Accordingly Hefiod, in his Treatife on Husbandry, marks the seafons for various works by the rifing and fetting of the stars; and we learn from his poems, and from Homer, that, in their early age, the more remarkable stars of our hemisphere were already classed in constellations, nearly in the fame manner and by the fame names as at this day. Ignorance of aftronomy we find mentioned by Æschylus, speaking, in the person of Prometheus, of the state of mankind in the first ages, as a mark of the deepest barbarism; and observation of the stars as the first thing necessary to civilized life ". In our northern climate, the shortness of the furnmer-nights and the coldness of the winter, together with the greater frequency of obscuring vapors, make the stars less objects for the hufbandman; while the greater variety in the apparent course of the sun, if the exactness with

Iliad. l. 18. v. 486. et l. 22. v. 29. Odyff. l. 5. v. 272.

baica

ΤΗ, δ' δυδές αυτος δύτε χείματος πίσμας,

"Ούτ άνθημώδους ήρος, δυτε καρπίμου

Θέρους βίβαιου άλλ' άτες γνώμης το πάν

"Επερασσον, έστε δή σφιν άντολας δγώ

"Ακεριν έδειξα, καὶ δυσκείτους δύσεις,

Prometh. Vinet, p. 31. ed. H. Stoph.

Prometh. Vinet. p. 31. ed. H. Steph. Which

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which the year is now divided by more artificial helps did not render it needless, would in a great degree answer the same purpose; and accordingly we still often find among our husbandmen surprizing accuracy in observing the sun. But the people of lower climates, deprived of the pleasant moderation of our summer-days, live, in the hot season, almost only in the night, and thus become astronomers naturally and almost necessarily.

The knowlege of the cure of internal difeafes made, it should feem, in Homer's age, no part of the science of Physic. It is remarkable that the poet nowhere speaks in plain terms of fickness. Diseases indeed, and mortal ones. are mentioned, but as the effect always of the immediate stroke of the Deity, and not of anything in the common course of nature. feem thus to have been esteemed utterly beyond the reach of human skill to relieve. The epidemical fickness of the army before Troy was occasioned by the darts of Apollo, and could be removed only by the prayers of Chrysis. feanty knowlege of nature to which the age had arrived, was applied only to relieve the effects of external violence upon the human frame. Skill in furgery was in the highest esteem "; tho it feems to have gone no farther than to the extraction of the instrument of a wound, and the application of a few simples for stopping hæmorrhages, and affuaging inflammations.

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Iliad. l. 11. v. 514.

CHAP. Charms and incantations, therefore, were fometimes called to its affiftance, or even to supply its place. Ulysses, when very young, being wounded by a wild boar, the hæmorrhage was stopped by incantation.

SECTION IV.

Of the Manners of the early Greeks.

THE MANNERS of a people receive their tone from a great variety of circumstances; climate; foil; extent of territory; population; religion; government, monarchal or republican, vigorous and permanent, or weak and changeable; fyftem of jurisprudence; administration of justice, ready and certain, or feeble and irregular; science; arts; commerce; communication with strangers. We find accordingly the manners of the Homeric age diffinguished from those of following times in Greece, by many characteriftical lines; and we may observe throughout a strong oriental tinge, which afterward very much faded away. Migrations from the East into Greece had ceafed before Homer: but the eastern merchants still ingrossed the little commerce of the Grecian towns. Afterward, whether from a republican jealoufy of foreiners; whether from a republican industry with increafed population; whether from a republican frugality, with the naturally attending disposition to

77 Eraoidi. Odyff. 1. 19. v. 457.

descry

decry forein luxuries; or whether the propen- SECT. fity to piracy among the Greeks, with increased naval strength, deterred commerce, the intercourse between the two countries lessened. The distinguishing seatures in the Homeric manners are that licentiousness, and that hospitality, together with the union, at first view so strange to us, of the highest dignities with the meanest employments, which have prevailed in the East fo remarkably through all ages. Thefe are, however, not the peculiar growth of any foil and climate. The two first are the seldom failing produce of defective government; and the other will everywhere be found in an unimproved state of society. The resemblance borne, till within this century, by the manners of the Highland Scots to those of the Orientals, in these particulars, is striking. But in Greece, tho the ties of blood had fuch weight with the people among themselves, yet we find nothing of clanship, nothing of that devoted attachment of vaffals to the family of a chief, which diftinguished many of the Orientals, as well as our northern highlanders. While the claims of hereditary royalty were established in general opinion, fome respect would adhere to the known posterity of a popular leader; but superior perfonal qualities were always necessary to maintain even the possession of rank and wealth.

There is a paffage in the Odyffee which illuftrates remarkably at the same time the government, the morality, and the religion of the age. It was proposed among the suitors of Penelope Odys. 1.

to 16. V. 39

OHAP. to kill her fon Telemachus, and divide his property. One only of them hefitated. To kill 'a person of royal race,' he says, ' is no light matter. Let us therefore confult the gods. If the laws of the great Jupiter approve, myfelf will be among the first both to persuade and to strike the stroke: but, if the gods forbid, I advise to forbear.' The person thus represented feriously expressing doubt whether the foulest murder might not be committed with approbation of the deïty, is described of high birth, respectable character, and superior understanding. But murders were so common that, without peculiar circumstances of enormity, they scarcely left a stain upon the character of the perpetrator. Some of the favorite personages of the Iliad and Odyssee, as the author of the Effay on the Original Genius of Homer has observed, had been guilty of this crime, and had fled their country in confequence: not, however, to escape public justice; but to avoid revenge from the relations of the deceafed. Private revenge we know was formerly almost the only restraint upon the most atrocious crimes against individuals in our own country, and ftill more in the reft of weftern Europe; infomuch that, in the weakness Charlesy, of public justice, private revenge even received the fanction, and was put under the guidance of the law. Hence it was that among the early Greeks, as in general through the East, a numerous progeny was fo particularly esteemed a great bleffing to parents. A numerous family was

Robertfon's

was always a powerful family: it could do just seem tice to itself; and, if unanimously so inclined, injure others with impunity. But ' cruelty, violence and oppression,' fays the writer just mentioned, who had studied oriental manners from the life, ' are fo evidently the refult of defective government, that it is unnecessary to ' look for any other general cause of the scenes of this fort with which Homer abounds, in common with other antient writers, and a2 greeably to the present manners of the East: For when every man is in great measure judge ' in his own cause, vices of this class are not only more frequent, but less criminal than in a civilized state; where the individual trans2 fers his refentments to the community, and pri vate injury expects redrefs from public juffice: Where the legislature does not ingage for our ' personal security, we have a right to use such means as are in our power to destroy the aggreffor who would deftroy us. In fuch cafes bodily strength and courage must decide most contests; while, on the other hand, craft, cunning, and furprize are the legitimate weapons of the weak against the strong. We accordingly find, that both the antient and the modern history of the East is a continued scene of bloodshed and treachery. These very just reflections may teach us to exercise our pity and spare our censure on human nature in such unfortunate circumstances. ... the day 1000 flaco

" Hospitality,' says the same writer, who had injoyed fuch peculiar means of information on N 4 ather autrects

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CHAP. the subject, prevails in most countries, and in the different provinces of each country, very much in proportion to the idleness, poverty, and infecurity which attend a defective police. It is some consolation, in so wretched a state of fociety, that this virtue should be most cultivated where it is most wanted. In Arabia the rights of hospitality, so properly ' called the Point of Honor of the East, are the happy substitute of positive law; which in flome degree supplies the place of justice; connecting, by a voluntary intercourse of good offices, those vagabond tribes, who defpise legislation, deny the perfect rights of mankind, and fet the civil magistrate at defiance. A strong instance of that sympathizing principle in the focial conflitution of our own nature, which the wifest government will inf courage, and which the most depraved cannot fuppress.' In confirmation of these judicious remarks, we find it established as a principle in Odyf. 1. Homer, that ' to those not totally void of the 8: V. 547. feelings of humanity, the guest and the sup-' pliant should be as a near relation:' and he gives them a divine right to kind treatment, alledging, that ' the stranger and the poor are from Jove.' The liberties taken by suppliant Odyff. 1. 6. V. 308. strangers, and the confidence reposed in them, & l. 14. were confonant to these principles. Ulysses, V. 58. Vid. & 1. faved alone from shipwreck on an unknown 8. v. 392. & l. 15. coaft, goes without introduction to the palace Ddyff.1.7. of the king of the country, which is represent-

ed as fingularly rich and splendid, enters the

spartments, and finding the king and queen at SECT. supper with the principal nobles, abruptly addreffes his supplication to the queen. Not only kindness but honor is immediately shown to him; he is lodged in the palace; and next day the king, recommending him to favor in an affembly of the people, declares at the fame time that he knows not who he is. It feems, indeed, to have been a general point of civility not haftily to ask any stranger who he was. Telema- Odyst. 1. chus and Mentor, landing in the port of Pylus, find the venerable Nestor, prince of the country, with the affembled Pylian people, on the shore, in the midst of the ceremony of a magnificent public facrifice. The strangers are no fooner perceived approaching, than the Pylians crowd to meet them, falute them in terms of friendship, and invite them to partake of the feast which always followed a facrifice, and which indeed feems to have been an effential part of the ceremony. They were, however, not left to the civility of the multitude : Peifistratus, fon of Nestor, advancing before the rest, took them by the hand, and placed them at table by his royal father and his elder brother. When the meal was over, Nestor spoke in these remarkable terms: ' Now the strangers have fatisfied themselves with eating, it will be ' proper to alk them who they are, and whence they come. Strangers, who are you, and whence come you, navigating the watery ways? Is it for any bufiness, or do you roam f at large, as pirates over the fea; those who wander.

Thucyd. 1. 1. C. 6.

Odver. L.

4. V, 1.

CHAP. ' wander, risking their own lives, and bring. 'ing evil upon others?' Thucydides, than whom none could be better qualified to judge, believed this to be a faithful picture of the manners of his ancestors; and he observes upon it. that Neftor's question was in the common way of inquiry, and not at all implying doubt whether the ftrangers were worthy of his hospitality, or fit company for his table, tho they might be pirates. Telemachus and Peifistratus afterward going as hereditary guefts, but not personally known, to Menelaus king of Sparta, neither announce themselves, nor does any one inquire who they are. The king, only informed by one of his household that unknown strangers, just arrived in a chariot, are waiting without, expreffes displeasure at the mention of a doubt whethey were to be treated in the palace, or provided elsewhere; orders that they should be immediately introduced into the hall, where he was fitting at a public supper with his court, places them by himself at table, and then tells them that, after they have supped, he will ask them who they are, and whence they came. In the fame manner, in a former part of the poem, Telemachus himself is represented expressing indignation at the least delay of civility to a stranger whom he observes at the gate of his father's palace: gues out himfelf to receive him, and tells him that he shall first sup, and

Odyff, I. 1. V. 119.

Iliad. 1. 6. then declare his errand ". From these offices V. 215. & children toward, in the most of the state of the

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^{78.} The manners of chivalry had many things congenial with

of hospitality, once performed, new and still SECT. more facred rights arose, which did not expire with the persons who gave origin to them, but descended to all the posterity of either party. A man was peculiarly bound to flow kindness to an hereditary gueft; to one who had entertained any of his ancestors, or who had been entertained by them.

. How necessary this generous point of honor was, to alleviate the miferies to which mankind; in that unfettled state of law and government, were liable, we may gather from many lively and affecting pictures feattered through Homer's poems ". Beside the general incompetency of governments to fecure internal order, the best regulated were in perpetual danger of ruin from forein enemies; and this ruin was cruel, was complete. 'Thefe are the evils,' we Iliad. 1. a. are told in the Iliad, ' that follow the capture v. 590. of a town: the men are killed; the city is burned to the ground; the women and children of all ranks are carried off for flaves.

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Wretch that I am,' fays the venerable Priam, Iliad. 1. what evil does the great Jupiter bring on me 22. v. 60.

those of the heroic times, Shakespear is scarcely copying Homer when he makes Belarius thus address Imogen, wandering in the difguife of a boy:

> Fair youth, come in: Discourse is heavy, fasting: when we've supped, We'll mannerly demand thee of thy story.

Cymbeline, act 3. 79 There is a remarkable one, evidently taken from the poet's own age, in a simile in the 18th book of the Iliad, v. 20y. See also Andromache's speech, Iliad. 1. 22. v. 487. and Nestor's account of his maroding expedition into Eleia, 11. 1. 11. v. 670.

' in my old age! My fons flain, my daughters ' dragged into flavery; violence pervading even the chambers of my palace; and the very infants dashed against the ground in horrid fport of war. I myself, slain in the vain office of defence, shall be the prey of ' my own dogs, perhaps in my very palace. gates!

Where such was war, the manners of warriors, even of the noblest characters, could not be without stains of barbarism and illiberality. We find, in the Iliad, men of highest rank, meeting in battle, address each other in language the most grossly insulting: they threaten, they revile, and fometimes jest in a very unfeemly manner on the misfortunes of their adverfaries. 'You whom the Greeks so honor above

V. 161.

Had. 1.8. ' others,' fays Hector to Diomed, ' are no bet-' ter than a woman. Go, wretch!' Then follows the reason of this personal anger: 'You think to florm our city, and carry off our women in your ships.' After this the added threat however will not appear unreasonable. 'My arm,' continues Hector, 'shall first send ' you to the infernal deities.' With minds thus heated, and manners thus roughened, it is no wonder if we find chiefs of the fame nation and army use great illiberality of language one to another. Of this, not to mention a dispute so extreme as that between Agamemnon and

12. v. 247. Achilles, Hector in a speech to Polydamas, 23. v. 473. and Oilean Ajax to Idomeneus, afford remark-

able examples.

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It was little usual to give quarter. Why SECT. fo tender-hearted?' fays Agamemnon to Menelaus, feeing him hefitate while a Trojan of Iliad. I. 6, high rank, who had had the misfortune to be difabled by being thrown from his chariot, was begging for life? "Are you and your house so beholden to the Trojans? Let not one of them escape destruction from our hands; no, not the child within his mother's womb. Let all perish unmourned; let not a vestige of them be feen remaining.' The poet gives the fanction of his own approbation to this inhumanity in a prince by no means generally characterized inhuman: 'It was justly spoken,' fays Homer; 'and he turned his brother's ' mind.' Menelaus, accordingly, pushed away the noble suppliant, and the king of men himfelf was the executioner who put the unrefifting wretch to death. Hector, in whom we find fo many able qualities, was not less infected with this barbarous spirit of his age. When he had killed Patroclus, and stripped tliad. 1. him on the spot of his rich armour, he post- 17. V. 125. poned the most pressing and most important concerns, equally his own and his country's, to the gratification of weak revenge; lofing fight of all the greater objects of battle while he struggled for the naked corfe, with intention to complete its contumely by giving it to be devoured by Trojan dogs; and to make his vengeance lasting by depriving it of those funeral rites which, in the opinion of the times, were necessary to the repose of souls after

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CHAP. death. We must not therefore wonder that the common Greeks should delight in wounding the dead body of Hector himself, when he was foon after flain; nor ought we to attribute peculiar ferocity to the character of Achilles for the indignities with which he treated it: fince both the morality and the religion of his age, far from condemning fuch conduct, evidently taught him to confider it as directed. not indeed by humanity, but by focial affection, and inforced by that piety, such as it was, which the gods of his country required. When the unfortunate monarch of Troy came afterward in person to beg the body of his heroic fon, we find the conduct of Achilles

Iliad. 1. 24. V. 592.

marked by a superior spirit of generous humanity. Yet in the very act of granting the pious request, he doubts if he is quite excufable to the foul of his departed friend for remitting the extremity of vengeance which he had meditated, and restoring the corse to receive the rites of burial. Agreeably to this cruel spirit of warfare, the token of victory was the head 18. v. 176. of the principal person of the vanquished slain fixed on a post. The milder temper of a more civilized age abolished this custom, and it became usual for the conqueror to suspend only a fuit of armour on a post; which, thus adorned, was termed a Trophy. Perhaps fire-arms have contributed to humanize war. The most cruel strokes to individuals are now generally in a

great measure the result of chance; for it sel-

dom can be afcertained from what hand pre-

cifely they come, and revenge thus wants its SECT. object. Other favorable circumstances it is true have affifted; but this, it may fairly be prefumed, has had its share in making revenge alien to modern warfare.

While fuch were the horrors of war, contimually threatening, not frontier provinces of extensive realms, but every man's door, we may wonder at any progress that civility and the arts of peace had made among mankind; that wealth, grandeur, elegance, or almost anything beyond meer necessaries of life, were thought worth any pains to acquire. But, amid the alarms of violence and oppression, the spirit of hospitality, so generally diffused, often alleviated misfortune; and, even in the crash of nations, many individuals, if they could fave only their lives from the general ruin, were at no loss for resources. This extensive communication of the rights of hospitality was of powerful effect to humanize a favage people, to excite a relish for elegance in stile of living, and to make the more refined joys of fociety more eagerly fought, as well as more eafily obtained. There was in Homer's time great difference in the possessions of individuals; some had large tracts of land with numerous herds and flocks; others had none. This state of things is generally favorable to the arts; a few, who have a superabundance of wealth, being better able, and generally more willing to encourage them than numbers who have only a competency. The communication of the rights of

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CHAP. of hospitality would also assist toward the prefervation of property to those families which had once acquired it. A fort of affociation was thus formed, which in some degree supplied the want of a regular administration of law. Without some security thus derived we scarcely fhould have found distinction of rank fo strongly marked as it is in Homer. A man of rank, it appears, might be known by his gait and manners, under every disguise of a meanhabit and mean employment. This could never be without a wide diffinction existing through fuccessive generations. A youth is described, elegant in his dress, and delicate in his person; ' fuch,' fays the poet, 'as the fons of princes 12. v. 223. ' usually are.' It is remarkable that the youth, thus described, was in the employment of a shepherd. Strength, however, and activity always go to the description of Homer's men of rank: but luxury, fuch as it was in those days, never is mentioned as unbecoming a hero; tho it was more particularly the privilege of the aged 80. The wealthy, as we have already obferved,

Odyff. 1.

30 The speech of Ulysses, himself in disguise, to his father Laertes, digging in his garden, is remarkable:

Όυδε τι τοι δουλειον επιπρέπει εισορά ασθαι: Eidog uni miyebog. Baridin yag ardel forums. Τοιούτω δι έσικας, ἐπεὶ λούσαιτο Φάγοι τι. "Ευδίμεναι μαλαχώς" η γας δίκη ές γερόνου.

Odyff. 1. 24. v. 254.

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The commentators have observed a difficulty in this passage; but it is only a grammatical difficulty; the fense seems sufficiently obvious, yet the passage is scarcely to be translated with more exactness than we find in Pope's version, in which however the characferved, had houses of freestone, spacious, and SECT. with many apartments on different floors; and we find all the offices to be expected in a great family performed with much regularity ". The directions which Penelope's housekeeper gives Odysf. 1. to the menial fervants, for the bufiness of the day, might still ferve in the East without variation: 'Go quickly,' fhe faid, 'fome of you

' fweep the house, and sprinkle it; and let the crimfon carpets be fpred upon the feats; let 'all the tables be well rubbed with spunges, and wash carefully the bowls and the cups.

Some of you go immediately to the fountain for water.' No less than twenty went on this Odyff. 1.

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errand. The whole number of maid-fervants were fifty; not, however, all employed in household business; for we find fifty also forming the establishment of Alcinous; of whom

' fome,' fays the poet, ' ground at the mill,' (an employment of great labor, while handmills alone were in use) 'and some turned the

spindle, or threw the shuttle.' Men-servants

characteristical word miyelos, remains unnoticed; and the term monarch is used for Baoise's, which is not intended here for so strict a sense, being put as a general term for a nobleman, or man of high rank:

Nor speaks thy form a mean or servile mind. I read a monarch in that princely air; The same thy aspect, if the same thy care. Soft fleep, fair garments, and the joys of wine, These are the rights of age, and should be thine.

Pope's Odyff. b. 24. v. 301.

81 See the reception of Telemachus at Pylus and at Sparta in the 3d and 4th books of the Odyssee, as well as the conduct of Ulyffes's household in various parts of the poem.

VOL. I.

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CHAP. waited at meals; and those of Ulysses's house. hold are described as comely youths, handfomely clothed, and always neat in their appearance. Servants of both fexes feem to have been all flaves not energy to the distance t

> It appears, indeed, as we have already remarked, that fince the age of Hercules and Theseus, confiderable progress had been made in establishing the powers of government over Peloponnesus at least, and giving security to the country. No apprehension of such dangers as Theseus found in the way from Træzen to Athens is mentioned in the account of Telemachus's journey from Pylus to Sparta. Without attendants, Telemachus and Peifistratus set out in a chariot drawn by two horfes. They carry with them provisions for the day. In the evening they arrive at Pheræ, where they are entertained by Diocles, a chief of the country. The next evening they arrive at Sparta; and their return affords no more variety of story. Is allow

Odyff. 1. 15. Y. 332.

> Homer has left us many pictures of his heroes in their hours of relaxation, with the goblet circulating. It has indeed been very antiently observed, that he shows himself strongly disposed to social and convivial injoyment. Horace has aggravated the remark into a reproach *2. Yet, allowing for the peculiarities of the manners of the heroic ages, most of which are still found in the East, there is great

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^{1 32} Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus. Horat. v. 6. Epift. 19. 1. 1. Lateres caff ad course cursings in themily distracted to

elegance in Homer's convivial meetings. Once Olymp he makes express mention of drunkenness: but see ne the anecdote forms a strong lesson to deter from ", p. 46, that vice; showing, by a terrible example, that lume. persons of highest rank and most respectable character, if they yield to intemperance, reduce themselves for the time to a level with the loweff and most profligate, and are liable to every indignity. But, at the feafts of the great, the odyn L. fong of the bard feldom failed to make a prin- Vid. et cipal part of the entertainment. The bard in. Odyf. 1. deed feems to have been a person of importance 1.4.153. in the household establishment of every wealthy 1. 22. v. chief. His knowlege and memory, in the de- 33. v. 133. ficiency of books, were to supply the place of a library: his skill in music and poetry was to convey instruction in the most agreeable manner, and inform even when pleasure was the Strab. L only apparent object. In one inftance Homer 16 P. 15 attributes extraordinary authority to the bard. Odyff, 1. Ægistheus could not accomplish his purpose of 3. v. 2634 possessing himself of the person of Clytemnestra and the principal fway in the Argian government, till he had removed the bard, whom Agamemnon had appointed to be chief counfellor to the queen in his absence. with so from ... i built

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Women in the Homeric age injoyed more freedom, and communicated more in bufiness and amulement among men, than in after ages has been usual in those eastern countries; far more than at Athens in the flourishing times of the commonwealth. In the Iliad we find Helen and Andromache frequently appearing in that

CHAP: company with the Trojan chiefs, and entering freely into the conversation. Attended only by one or two maid-fervants, they walk through the streets of Troy as business or fancy lead them. Penelope, perfecuted as she is by her fuitors, does not fcruple occasionally to show herfelf among them; and scarcely more referve Odys. 1. seems to have been imposed on virgins than on 8. v. 457 married women. Equally indeed Homer's elegant eulogies and Hefiod's severe sarcasm prove Op & Di women to have been in their days important & Theog. members of fociety. The character of Penev. 579. lopë in the Odyssee is the completest panegyric on the fex that ever was composed; and no language can give a more elegant or a more highly-colored picture of conjugal affection than is displayed in the conversation between Hector and Andromache in the fixth book of the Iliad. Even Helen, in fpite of her failings, and independently of her beauty, steals upon our hearts, in Homer's description, by the modefly of her deportment and the elegance of her manners. On all occasions, indeed, Homer shows a disposition to favor the fex: civility and attention to them he attributes Iliad. I. 9. most particularly to his greatest characters, to Achilles, and still more remarkably to Hector. The infinite variety of his subjects, and the historical nature of his poems, led him necesfarily to fpeak of bad women: but even when the black deed of Clytemnestra calls for his fevereft reprobation, still his delicacy toward

the fex leads him to mention it in a manner

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V. 340. & 1. 24. V. 762.

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TO. V. 317.

that might tend to guard against that reproach SECTIO which would be liable to involve all for the wickedness of one". With some things of course widely differing from what prevails in distant climates and distant ages, we yet find in general the most perfect decency, and even elegance of manners, in Homer's descriptions of the intercourse of men and women. Helen's conversations, on the walls of Troy in the Iliad, and in her court at Sparta in the Odyffee, afford remarkable examples. One office of civility, indeed, which we find usually performed by women in the heroic age, may exsouthed the bonor, and defined animald was

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12 Pope, who was as little disposed to favor the fex as he was formed to be favored by them, has remarkably extended and aggravated his author's invective in the translation of this passage. H & Hoxa Nove libbia

Ήτι κατ ἀῖσχος ἔχευι, κὰι ἐσσομένοισι δπίσσυ יות הפוחרונות ל ניניתו בליקוש לב היו ושוב נוצומים לו היינים בינים בינים

one saiver on or derale self-fla Odyff. It 11. V. 431. manus

is the expression of the injured Agamemnon to Ulysses in the Elyfian Fields. The meaning is fimply this: 'Clytemnestra's wickedness has been so extreme, that it will communicate infamy to womankind through all futurity: even the good will onot escape reproach for it.' But in the translation which Pope either made or adopted, Agamemnon pronounces the whole fex perjured, and doubts if a fingle virtuous woman will ever be found :

> " Thy deeds,' he fays, 'difgrace The perjured fex, and blacken all the race; And should posterity one virtuous find, Name Clytemnestra, they will curse the kind. Pope's Odyff. b. 11. v. 540.

Another strong instance of this turn in Pope, and where he has gone more out of his way to show it, occurs in his note to the 450th verse of his translation of the ninth book of the Iliad. A strong instance of the contrary disposition in Homer, with proof

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CHAP: cite our wonders the business of attending men in bathing feems to have been peculiar to wemen; and, in compliment to men of rank, was performed by virgins of the highest rank When Telemachus vifited Nestor at Pylus, the office of washing and clothing him was assigned to the beautiful Polycaste, the virgin daughter of the venerable monarch. When Ulyffes appeared as an unknown stranger in his own palace, the queen Penelope, uninformed who or what he was, meerly in pursuance of the common ceremonies of hospitality, directed her young maids to attend him to the bath. Ulyffes refused the honor, and defired an old woman; but the poet feems to have thought it necessary that he should apologize very particularly for fuch a fingularity. Repugnant as these circumstances appear to common notions

Odyff. 1. 19. V. 317.

> that it remained to him in blindness, and probably in old age, appears in a beautiful and affecting address to the virgins who attended the festival at Delos, for which the Hymn to Apollo has been composed; and the passage is authenticated by Thucydides:

Xapere & opeil maour spin de nas personole Mehonot, bunbre zie en turgboller aidelmer Bidad dirlegrat, filios radamiques theor, בי מינים ביו מינים ביותר ביותר לא איר אור ביותר ביות Libadi wuddiras, nas rep repracte patiern; Τμιτς δ' εν μάλα σάσαι ψποκρίνασθι άφήμως, Tuphos arme, cour de Xin in marmahologon.

Thucyd. I. 3. c. 104. Virgins, joy attend you all! Remember me hereafter: and

when any stranger from afar coming here shall ask, O Virgins, who is the fweetest poet that attends your festival, and with

whom are you most delighted? do you all kindly answer, with

one applauding voice, Our favorite is the blind man, who lives in rocky Chios.

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of eastern jealoufy, yet customs not absolutely Ites diffimilar are still found among the Arabs. The deed the general fentiments of the Turks to- Defert. ward the female fex are a strange compound of Porter's the groffest sensuality with the most scrupulous tions on decency. For the credit of Homer, however, the Reliand of his age, it should be observed that, Laws, &c. among all his variety of pictures of human of the Turks. passion, not a hint occurs of that unnatural sensuality which afterward so disgraced Grecian quently adverts, in general reflections.rannem

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It was customary in the heroic age, as indeed at all times in Greece, for ladies of highest rank to employ themselves in spinning and needlework, and in at least directing the business of the loom; which was carried on, as till lately in the highlands of Scotland, for every family within itself. It was praise equally for a slave and a princefs to be skilful in works of this kind: "In Homer's time washing also was employment for ladies. The princes Nauficas, the young and beautiful daughter of the opulent king of Phæacia, a country famed more for luxury than industry, went with her maids, in a carriage drawn by mules, to a fountain in a fequestered spot at some distance from the city, to wash the clothes of the family.

It is matter of no fmall curiofity to compare the manners and principles of the heroic age of Greece with those of our Teutonic ancestors. There are strong lines of refemblance, and there are strong characteristical touches by which they stand distinguished.

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CHAP. Greece was a country holding out to its pole feffors every delight of which humanity is capable; but where, through the inefficiency of law, the inflability of governments, and the Porter's character of the times, happiness was extremely no anois -its of precarious, and the change frequent from the height of blis to the depth of misery. Hence, rather than from his natural temper, Homer feems to have derived a melancholy tinge widely diffused over his poems " He frequently adverts, in general reflections, to the miseries of mankind. That earth nourishes no animal more miferable than man, is a remark which he puts into the mouth of Jupiter himfelf. His common epithet for war and battle is 'tearful ".' With the northern bards, on the contrary, war and battle were fubjects of highest joy and merriment; and this idea was supported in fact, we are well affured, to a most extraordinary degree. Yet there was more generofity and less cruelty in the Gothic spirit of war than in the Grecian. Whence this arose: what circumstances gave the weaker fex fo much more consequence among the Teutonic nations than among the Greeks; how the spirit of gallantry, fo little known to this elegant and polished people, should arise and gain such univerfal influence among the fierce unlettered favages of the North; that gallantry which,

Mallet's Northern Antiquities. Robertfon's

Charles V.

Iliad. 1. 17. V. 447.

Tue for starte die extend la ore 83 See particularly in the Odyssee, b. 4. v. 93. b. 8. v. 523. b. 11. v. 620. b. 18. v. 129.

as Πόλομος δακρυότις, Iliad. 1. 8. v. 388. Μάχη δακρυότσσα, Iliad. 1, 13. v. 765. http://dx.

with many fantastical and some mischievous effects, has produced many highly salutary and honorable to mankind, will probably ever remain equally a mystery in the history of man, as why perfection in the sciences and every elegant art should be confined to the little territory of Greece, and to those nations which have derived it thence.

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The History of Greece from the Trojan
War to the Return of the Heracleids; and of the Grecian Oracles, the Council of Amphictyons,
and the Olympian Games.

SECTION A.

which he provides the proofs of lugiter him-

Restoration of Orestes to the Throne of Argos.

Conquest of Pelopannesus by the Dorians under the Heraeleids, commonly called the Return of the Heraeleids. Distriction of the Greek Nation into Inic. Acute. Acute, Dorie.

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TAKING Homer as our faithful guide for the history of this early age, we may conclude that no great revolution, nothing of any extensive consequence, happened in Greece, after the troubles insuing from the Trojan war had subsided, to the time when he composed his poems. The most important events which he has recorded, posterior to the return of the Greeks from Troy, relate to the kingdom of Argos.

Argos. Orestes, fon of Agamemnon, after live Odys Le ing feven years in exile at Athens, in the eighth 208. 1. 3. found means to revenge his father's death and v. 196. recover his inheritance. He killed the usurper 34. v. 33. Egistheus; and his guilty mother Clytemnestra perished in the tumult. Mounting then the throne of Argos, he became a very powerful prince, and reigned with great reputation. Here the history of Homer ends; and the manner in which these events are mentioned by him appears firongly to indicate that the period of his life would not admit of his tracing hif-

It was, according to Thucydides, (whose Thucyd. fimple affirmation carries more authority than that of any other writer, and upon this occasion has been univerfally followed) about eighty years after the destruction of Troy that a great revolution happened, which totally changed the population of a large part of Greece, and in its consequences, that of all the western coast of Asia Minor, with which Homer was particularly conversant'. The children and partizans of the great Hercules had been invited from Athens, their first place of refuge from the persecution of Eurystheus king of Argos, to fettle in Doris. Æpalius, chief of

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This point will be farther discussed in the Appendix to the present chapter.

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^{*} His residence after he was become blind, as he says himself in those lines of the Hymn to Apollo which have the testimony of Thucydides to their authenticity, was in the iland of Chios. Thucyd. J. 3. c. 104.

Strabile that province, in gratitude for important favors received from Hercules, is faid to have adopted Hyllus, eldest fon of that hero, by Deianeira daughter of Eneus king of Ætolia, and to have bequeathed his principality to him. Thus fortunately raifed from the condition of fuppliant exiles to that of foverein princes, the posterity of Hercules were however not to be fatisfied with a scanty command over herdmen among the wilds of Eta and Parnaffus. Efteeming themselves direct heirs of the family of Perfeus, they never ceafed to claim the dominion of Peloponnesus, and particularly of Argos, of which the fuperior policy and fortune of the family of Pelops had deprived them. Twice penetrating through the ifthmus, they were compelled to retreat with loss. But at length Temenus, Crefphontes, and Aristodemus, faid to be great-grandfons of Hyllus, affociating with themselves Oxylus, an Ætolian chieftain their kinfman, croffed the Corinthian gulph from Naupactus, at the head of an army, with which, excepting the mountainous province of Arcadia, they overran the whole peninfula. Tifamenus, fon of Orestes, forced from Argolis and Laconia, made however a stand in Ægialeia; and maintaining himself there, the country acquired from his followers the name of Achaia. Of the rest the Heracleids became complete masters. Temenus took posfession of Argos, Cresphontes of Messenia, and, Aristodemus dying, his twin-fons Eurysthenes and Procles were made joint kings of Lacedæ-

B. C. 824. N. 1104. B. Herodot. l. 9. c. 26. Plat. de Leg. 1. 3. p.683.t.2. Paufan. l. 2. C. 18. Herodot. 1. 6. c. 52. Polyb. 1. 2. p. 178. Strab. 1. 8. p. 383. Paufan. 1. 5. C. 1.

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mon: Corinth was given to Aletes, also a de SECT. feendant of Hercules, and Eleia was allotted to Oxylus. Sicyon and Phlius were afterward added to the Argian dominion; the former by Phalces, fon of Temenus; the other by Rheg- Paufan. L. nidas, fon of Phalces. 1, or voting visito on a 13,

Of the particulars of this important revolution, the struggles likely to be maintained by princes fo established in their possessions as the Pelopids, and so connected by various ties of confanguinity and political interest, or the causes why little struggle was made, scarcely any information remains to us. It appears, indeed, that the Heracleid chiefs had interest within the peninfula: for, as we are informed Strab. 1. by Strabo, Laconia was betrayed to them. 8. p. 365. They feem also, in their outset, to have judiciously disclaimed all hostile intention against the people of Peloponnesus, professing that their aim was only to recover their rights from princes who had usurped them. Farther than this even Paufanias was unable to gather. Nor Paufan, L. are we more informed of the time employed in 2. C. 13. the conquest. But that the conquest was in the end complete, and that an intire revolution took place, not only in the government, but in the population also of the whole peninsula, except Arcadia, are facts amply authenticated: As foon as the division of the conquered country was agreed upon, the Heracleid princes, Plat de binding themselves by solemn oaths mutually Leg. 1. 3. to support one another in their respective allotments, exacted ingagements upon oath to the

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CHAP. fame purpose from all their subjects. But their Dorian and Ætolian followers had not conquered rich and extensive provinces for others. to return themselves to their pristine poverty upon their native mountains. It was, perhaps, a necessary policy to reward them with establiffments in the newly acquired territories. A general oppression of the old inhabitants followed: great numbers emigrated: the rest were mostly reduced to flavery; and in the end the Heracleids, and their immediate partizans, remained fole lords of the foil throughout Peloponnefus, excepting Arcadia and Achaia

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> This great change in the population of Greece, and the importance which the Dorian Strab. L. name acquired by it, among other confequences, occasioned a new distinction of the Grecian people, and brought forward to public attention some old ones, which in the time of Homer and Heffod appear to have been little noticed. Concerning the barbarous hords who in earliest times occupied Greece under various names, Dryopes, Caucones, Aones, Leleges, Pelasgians, and others, the diligent and judicious Strabo feems to have been unable to difcover how far they were different people. They feem all to have spoken one language; for, in the civilized ages, no trace or memory of a dialect not Grecian was to be found in any, the most mountainous parts of the country. They appear also to have been much intermixed; but the Pelasgian name prevailed on the continent, and the Lelegian in the ilands; the forfarne mer

Strab. 1. 5. p. 220. 1.7. p. 321, 322. l. 9. P. 401.

Leg. L. 3.

p.683.2.z.

merinchiding vat one time, as Herodotus are Herodot fures us, all people of Grecian race. The 1.7.6.95 Athenians and Arcadians, in whose country there had never, within the reach of tradition. been any complete change of population, con- Herodot. tinued always to refer their origin, in part at 1. 1. c. 56. leaft, to the Pelafgians. Revolutions, depriving 44the other Greeks of means to trace their anceftry to high, gave them at the fame time new eras from which to begin their account of themselves, in consequence of which the old fell the more readily into oblivion. The Pelafgian name thus grew obfolete at an early per riod, and the Greek nation became diftinguished Strab. I. into two hords, called Ionian and Æolian. Yet 8. p. 333neither have we my certain information how this diffinction arose; the tradition mentions Strab. 1. Rolus and Dorus, fons of Hellen the fon of 8. p. 3835. Deucalion, and Ion and Aphæus fons of Xu- 1.1. c. 56. thus, another fon of Hellen, as the patriarchs & 1.7. c. of the Grecian people, from hom the appel-lations of their principal divisions were derived. The history of these prince however, is un-certain in extreme; and tradition of better authority gives reason to suppose that the appellations had another and an earlier origin. Before the return of the Heracleids the Achaian Homer. & name was common to all the Peloponnessans. Plat. de Leg. l. 3. The Ionian name had been still more com- p. 684. prehensive; having included the Achaians and Hesychad the Boeotians, who, together with those to voc. Inne whom it was afterward confined, would make & lane. nearly the whole of the Greek nation; and

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Homer Iliad. l. 2.

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But whatever may have been originally the distinction of the Grecian hords, it became, in the course of ages, more than nominal; fince tho their fettlements were intermixed, and their language fundamentally one, each people preferved its peculiar dialect. Attica was confidered as the original fettlement of the Ionians: its antient inhabitants were ufually diftinguished by that name, and the country was called Ionia. Colonies migrating thence into Peloponnefus, occupied the province afterward nam-1. 7. c. 94 ed Achaia, but previously Ægialos and Ægialeis : and the Ionian colonists were called Agialian Pelafgians. The people of the rest of Greece, within and without the ifthmus, were esteemed of the Æolian hord : yet, according to Panfanias, the dialect of Argos, before the 1. 2. c. 37 return of the Heracleids, was the same as the

antient Attic. Of the farther division, however, of the Gregian people, which afterward Strab. 18. arose, we have from Strabe a clear account. The inhabitants of the mountainous tract about Parnassus, under the name of Dorians, who, Herodot. according to Herodotus, had migrated thither

among

1. 1. c. 56. from Theffaly, were, like the antient Atticans, from the barrenness of their country, and their consequent poverty, little subject to invasion; and thus, while the other Æolians, from their frequent revolutions and intermixture with foreiners, acquired a new dialect, the Dorians alone retained their manners and language un-

altered

altered. When under the Henchida they became mafters of Pelopsanolis, the former in Horn, habitants were mostly either expelled or reduced to flavery, excepting those who under Tisamenus maintained themselves in Achaia, and the Areadians, who, with their mountains, preserved their freedom. The entites passed to Asia Minor, and overpowering there the Asiatics, as they had been themselves overpowered by the Dorians, they astablished colonies all along the western coast of that country. Four distinctions of the Gracian people now stose out of the vestions of the Gracian people now stose out of the prism original two. The Dorian name prevailed in all the clablishments of the Heracleide, and suspressented by all the colonies founded by their defected and wherese. feedents, in Afia, Italy, Sicily, and wherefo-ever elfe. The Athenians also rose to such preeminence above all other people of Ionian race, that their name likewise prevailed over that of their bord; and thus the two original dialogs of the Greeisn language acquired the new names of Doric and Atric, while the two other principal dialogs, which various circumfances had countibuted to alter, retained the aptient appellations of Molio and Ionic. But all the Greeks without the ithmus, except the Strab. 1. Athenians and Megarians, chained Molian origin. The Megarians, the of Molian race, yet being a Borian colony from Peloposnefus, chose to remain the distinction of the Doric name. The Ionian name was rejected in Greece, and Herodot retained only by those Ionians who migrateri dialects of the Greeien language acquired the

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THE history of a people divided, like the Greeks; into many little states, each exercising complete fovereinty within its own territory, cannot be traced in fo connected a manner to that of those nations whose parts are united under one fystem of government. Historians have therefore found it convenient, after giving a furning account of the remoter ages, to felect two commonwealths, Athens and Lacedemon, as main channels in which their pariative thould run; contenting themselves with but occasionally relating the more important transactions of the reft. While the fame method is followed here, equally from necessity and choice, the befines of the historian, it should feen, were very incompletely executed should be omit to inveltigate, with fome accuracy, the circumfidnces which principally contributed to keep To many independent and eternally warring flutes, without any express league, and blien without any very obvious common interest Italian forme measure united, Rill always to effect themselves one people, to as to acquire (for they had them not in the early periods of their history)

HISTORY OF GREECK

history) iningularly, franklinds of distinction from all the rest of manhinds who belled the

The, among the confequences of the great revolution effected by the Heracleids, a feparation in national pride, opposition in national prejudices, and even national intipathics might be liable to arife among the Grecian people, the Dorians yet fortunately brought with them, from their former country, habits, opinions. and attachments, not only tending to correct the mifchievous effects of political jealoufies among the feveral independent states which they established in Peloponnesus, but also to preserve and even increase the intercourse, and strengthen the connection with the rest of Greece. The province of Doris was chiefly composed of the northern branches of the lofty tidge of Parnaffus, at the fouthern end of which Delphi was fituated. The oracle of that place had been for fome time increasing in reputation among the people of the neighbouring provinces and it Plat de was not without the incouragement of force re- p. 636. sponfesowhich admitted a favorable interpretation, that the Heracleids had ingaged in their enterprises hather full fucces therefore could not fail to extend the fame and increase the credis of the anteles. The great bond indeed that diffe united) and afterward for ages principally held the Greeks together, was their religion; of the early frate of which and fome principal circumstances in its tile and progress from among those which can be fufficiently aftertain. ed for hiftory, it has been already endeavoured

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to give an account. Some inquiry will new be necessary concerning those reputed means of rein certier times, but which in the period to which we are approaching, became political engines of fingular force, and had their effect on almost every important occurrence. It were indeed a very vain attempt to purfue, through all its intricacies, the history of institutions founded upon ignorance, and raifed by deceit, at an age far beyond the reach of written memorials and ever afterward, during their existence through many centuries, covered from common observation with the utmost caution of interested ingenuity favored by political power. But as the subject is both curious in itself, and important to the history before us, it shall be endeavoured here to reduce under one point of view, what can be collected from antient writers, principally tending to illustrate the early Circumstances of oracles in grant with in grante

Superfition was formed into a System in Egypt at an age prior to our first accounts of it. Vast temples were built, innumerable ceremonies established, the fame body, forming the hereditary priesthood and the nobility of the nation, directed with a high hand the belief and conferences of the people; and prophecy was not only among their pretentions, but perhans the most indispensable part of their office. We have already had occasion to remark how usual it was with the Phenician traders, then ody medifices are hely been also adv ender varietd

HISTORY OF GREECE

the general carriers of the Mediter fineans to SHOT. freal women. It happened that the mafter of a Phenician vellel carried of a woman attendant Herodot. of the temple of Jupiter at Thebes on the Nile, and fold her in Thefprotia; a mountainour tract in the north-western part of Epines, bordering on the Illyrian hords. Reduced thus unhappily to flavery among barbarians, the wor man however foon became fentible of the fuperiority which her education in a more civilized country gave her over them; and the conceived hopes of mending her condition, by practifing upon their ignorance what she had acquired of those arts which, in able hands, imposed upon a more inlightened people. She gave out that the possessed all the powers of prophecy to which the Egyptian priests pretended; that she could discover present secrets and foretel future events. Her pretensions excited curiofity: she chose her station under the shade of a spreading oak. where, in the name of the god Jupiter, the delivered answers to numbers who came to confult her; and shortly her reputation, as a prophetefs, extended as far as the people of the country themselves communicated. These simple circumftances of her flory were afterward, according to the genius of those ages, turned into a fable, which was commonly told, in the time of Herodotus, by the Dodonean priests. A Black bigeon, they faid, flew from Thebes in Egype to Dodona, and perching upon an bak, proclaimed with human voice, 'That an salasto, in the first tion of the Past chapter of this history.

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office of Jupiter mould be established there'. The Dodon cans, concluding that a divinity spoke through the agency of the pigeon, obeyed the mandate, and the oracle was established. The historian accounts for the fiction thus : The woman, on her arrival, speaking in a for reign dialect, the Dodonaans faid the fooke like a pigeon : but afterward, when the had acquired the Grecian speech and accent, they faid the pigeon, who from her darker complexion was called the black pigeon, now spoke with a human wice. The trade of prophecy being both easy and lucrative, the office of the propheters was readily supplied both with affociates and fuccesfors. A temple for the delty and hableations for his ministers were built; and thus, according to the evidently honest, and apparently well-founded and judicious account of Merodotus, arose the oracle of Jupiter at Dodona, the very place where tradition, still remaining to the days of that writer, tellified that facrifices had formerly been performed only to the Nameless God.

In confequence probably of the fuccess of Dodonz, oracles were, in remote ages, attempt-

³ Homer, (Odyst. 14, 228, & 19, 297.) Æschylus, (Prometh. Vincl. v. 827.) Plato (Phædrus, p. 275. t. 3.) and Strabo (l. 5. p. 328.) call the prophetic tree Δρος. Hesiod (as quoted by the scholiast upon the Trachinize of Sophocles, v. 1174.) Herodome, L. 2. c. 55. & Lucian, (Dial. Micyll. & Gall.) call it Φηγός. I do not suppose any contradiction between them; because I take Δρος to have been a generic name, and Φηγός a species. See Note γ in the sirst section of the sirst chapter of this history.

ed in various places . Olympia, as we learn from Strabo, before the chablishment of its strab. 1. games, was famous for the oracle of Olympian Jupiter ; which however ceased at an early period. The pretention to the gift of prophecy as a dispensation of the deity to certain individuals, being found still lucrative, continued fill to be common, but it was often dangerous. For in gratifying one great man, the but by telling the fimple truth, the ill will of another. or perhaps of the multitude, was excited. Thus Homer represents the seer Calchas, tho a man Iliad. 1. 1. of high rank, afraid to declare a truth which might offend Agamemnon; and we find in Enripides the reason expressly given for preferring Eurip. local oracles: Men are liable to be warped by Phoening

* The learned Mr. Hardion in his first Differtation on the oracle of Delphi, (Mem. de l'Acad. des Inforig.) undertakes to prove from Herodotus himself, that Herodotus is wrong in affecting the Dodonzan oracle to have been the oldest in Greece. But the whole of his argument refts on a supposition that the Pelafgians, founders of the Dodonsean oracle, originated from a handful of favages (une poignée d'hommes, ou, pour mieux dire, des brutes) first assembled under Pelasgus on the mountains of Arcadia, long after the establishment of the Delphian oracle. Nothing, however, in untient Grecian tradition appears more certain than that the Pelasgian name and people had a very different origin (s); nothing more uncertain than the time when the Delphian oracle was first established; and scarcely anything more evidently fabulous than those reports of the early consultation of it, on whole authority Mr. Hardion has not forupled to fay, it it eft INCONTESTABLE qu'il étoit établi meme avant le défuge de Deucalion.' The first account of the confultation of the Delphian bracle to which Strabo feems to have paid any credit was the Trojan war. See Strabb, b. 9. pear 74 94

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world die (a) See p. 30 and 80 of this Volume at my wold me? fear,

han dayas in pityin a Prophecies should be delivered by Apollo along, who respects not body. Whenever therefore means occurred for establishing the belief that a deity favored any particular (pot with his peculiar grace and frequent prefence, and would deign there to communicate with mortals who knew how duly to invoke him, priefts and foothfayers would not neglect the opportunity of The faithful delivery of the divine mandate no longer then depended on the credit of a fingle person, but a college of priefts became its warrant; while she funposed fanchity of the place protected all within its precinct, and the number of the affociated attendants added to the fecurity of those ingeged in any office of the prophetical function. Through such inducements many oracles were in early times established, which, like Olympia, facceeded for a time, and decayed. But the oracle which held its reputation, and exrended it, we may fay, over the world, was Delphi. Of this celebrated place fo many fables are related, fome of them referred to times long before, according to any authentic account, an oracle existed in Greece, that the writer whose subject calls for some elucidation of the matter, finds no small difficulty to determine what not to reject of all that has been faid upon it. Indeed on this mythological ground, where even the antiquarian and the professed differtator should tread with caution, the historian cannot but hefitate at every ftep. He will certainly not attempt to lead his reader a regular journ יונער.

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HISTORY OF GREECE!

ney through it p but he may point out to him a SECTO lew sposs of the firmer foil, which, without rife of material deception, may inable him to form forme general idea of the whole: An illiant age

On the fouthern fide of mount Parnaffin, Strab. L. within the western border of Phocis against Lo. 9. P. 412. eris) and at no great diffance from the feaport towns of Criffa and Cirrha, the mountain crags form a natural amphichester, difficult of accels; in the midfe of which a deep cavern, difcharged, from a narrow orifice, a vapor pow strab. 1, erfully affecting the brain of those who came 9. p. 419. within its influence. This, we are bold, was Sic. 1. 16. first brought to public notice by a goatherd, c. 26. whose goats, brouzing on the brink, were thrown 10. c. s. into fingular convultions; upon which the man Plut Arifgoing to the fpot and endeavouring to look into toph. v. 9. the chaim, became himfelf agitated likesone frantic, 11 Thefe extraordinary circumstances were communicated through the neighbourhood; and the superstitious ignorance of the age immediately attributed them to a deity refiding in the place. Frenzy of every kind, among the Greeks, even in more inlightened times, was supposed the effect of divine inspil ration, and the incoherent speeches of the frantic were regarded as prophetical. A fpot therefore to which herdmen only and their goats had hitherto been accustomed to climb abit Miles abidity and the neithborder

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S. Utalia nos melius multa quam Graci, ac huie prestantificar! rei divinationi) nomen nostri a divis, Greci, ut Plato inter-pretatur (in Phædro) a furore dixerunt. M. T. Cic, de divi-natione, l. r. f. r.

CHAP, over the sugged fides of the mountain, now bear came an abject of extensive curiosity sait was faid to be the oracle of the goddels Earth; the rude inhabitants, from all the neighbouring parts, reforted to it for information concerning futurity; to obtain which any one of them inhaled the vapor, and whatever be uttered in the infuing intoxication, paffed for prophecy,

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But the function of prophet, under thefereiscumstances, was not alittledangerous; formany, through the superinduced giddiness, fell into the cavern and were loft. An affembly of the neighboring inhabitants was therefore convened, in whichir was determined that one person, appointed by public authority, should alone be permitted to receive the infpiration and render the refpenfes of the divinity; and that the fecurity of the prophet should be provided for by a frame placed over the chaim, through which the maddening vapor might be inhaled with fafety, A virgin was preferred for the facred office; and a frame was prepared, refting on three feet, whence it had the name of tripod. The place! bore the name of Pytho, of uncertain origin, but, attributed in aftertimes to some adventures of the gods there, which gave it a mystical dignity; and thence the title of Pythone's or Pythia became attached to the prophetels. To obtain the inspiration which it was supposed not only inabled, but forced her to reveal the will of the divinity, the Pythonels was placed on the tripod. A facred estimation thus became attached to the form of that machine, infomuch that

that thence, according to Diodores, arole the SECT. partiality which induced not the Greeks only but the Romans to prefer it for every utenfil, whether for facted or domestic purposes, to which it could be applied. who has an armiting

The importance of the oracle being increased by this interference of public authority, a farther establishment became necessary. A rude temple was built over the cavern, priefts were appointed, ceremonies were prescribed, facrifices were performed. A revenue now was neceffary! All therefore who would confult the oracle henceforward, must come with offerings in their hands. The reputation of the place no longer then depended simply on the superstition of the people : the interest of the priests became Differt. its guardian. Hence, according to probable for l'Oraconjecture, the change of divinities supposed Delphes, to prefide at Delphi. The profits produced by Hardion. the prophetical abilities of the goddels Earth beginning to fail, it was afferted that the god Paufan. 1. Neptune was affociated with her in the oracle. To.c. 5. After this the goddels Themis was faid to have Eumen. fucceeded her mother Earth in the inheritance. Still new incentives to public credulity and curiolity became necessary." If the attempt to fift fact from fable may in any cafe be indulged to the historian, the hymn to Apollo, transmitted to us as the composition of Homer, seems to offer so probable an account of the next and final change in the property of this celebrated place, that it may be permitted to introduce it

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Apollo

- Apollo was a deity of great reputation in the ilands and in Afia Minor, sbut hitherto of little fame on the continent of Greece, when a veffel from Gnoffus in Crete came to the port of Crissa; and the crew landing, proceeded immediately up the neighbouring mountain Parnassus to Delphi. Presently a wonderful story was circulated, . That this velfel, being bound to Pylus on the coast of Messenia, had been forced by a preternatural power beyond that port; and, while the aftenished crew were perfectly passive, had been conducted with ' furprizing exactness and expedition to Crissa; that a dolphin of uncommon magnitude had accompanied the veffel, apparently with authority, and, on their arrival at Crissa, difcovered himself to the crew to be the great and beneficent god Apollo; ordering them at the fame time to follow him to Delphi, where they should become his ministers. The project succeeded beyond expectation. Sacrifices and petitions to Themis and Neptune had plain ly for fome time been wrong: Apollo was now the prefiding power of the place; and under this god, through the skill of his new ministers' (for Crete, as we have feen, was earlier civilized, and had probably more intercourse with Egypt than the rest of Greece) the oracle recovered and increased its reputation. Delphi, which had the advantage of being really near the center of Greece, was reported to be the center of the world; miracles were invented to prove so important a circumstance, and Navel olloga

of the Earth was among the titles which it act . SECT. guired . Rethaps at this time the Pythian games had their origin in the prize offered for a hymn in honor of Apollo, to be performed by the voice accompanied by the cithara. The Paulan. 1. first victor, Pausanias informs us, was a Cretani It was not till some ages after that athletic exercises were introduced, in imitation of the Olympian and display the land the same in the same

Delphi, however, prospering through its oragle became early a confiderable town. Situate

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as it was among barren mountain-crags, the rich vale of Crissa was at hand for its supply; the Wheeler's Bonotian plain was not far distant, and the journey neighbourhood of the fea was a great additional Greece, b. convenience. Before Homer's time, if we may 4 P. 316. credit the hymn to Apollo, the temple of that deity was built of stone, with fome magnificance. The increasing importance of the oracle brought it, probably foon after Homer's age, under the particular protection of the Amphictyonic council; of which an account will prefently be given. But the Dorian conquest seems to have been the fortunate circumstance that principally spred its fame and inlarged its influence; which quickly fo ex-

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tended, that nothing of moment within Greece

was undertaken by states, or even by private

persons who could afford the expence, without

first consulting the oracle of Delphi; particu-

the restored to the service of the profession of the Straho, 1. 9. p. 419. Mr. Bryant has accounted for this title ingeniously, and perhaps justly, is his Analysis of Antient Mythology, vol. 1. p. 240.

CHAP.

larly in cheumflances off doubt, burning and diffrels, Delphi was tile belige, or profincupan thefe occusions was always me estable and print ces and opulent persons ender voirted rol conon. liate the favor of the deity by offerings of great value. Afterward vanity came in aid to fuberfittion in bringing riches to the temple. The names of thole who made confiderable prefents were always registered; and when flattless repods, or other ornaments of valuable materials or elegant workmanship were given, they were publicly exhibited in honor of the donor. The prophetical bufiness was generally con-

ducted with great caution and judgement; and we are not without good information, feattered in different antient authors, of the manner of it. The Pythoness was chosen from among Diod. Sic. -mountain-cottagers, the most unacquainted with mankind that could be found. It was always required that the thould be a virgin, and originally she was taken very young. The purity of virgin inhocence, to which the Greeks always attached an idea of mysterious fanclity, made a girl most fit, in valgar opinion, to receive the

influence of the god; and ignorance, which evinced purity of mind, was at the fame time very commodious for the purpoles of the priefts. Once appointed the was never to quit the temple But unfortunately it happened that one Bythonels made her escape: her singular beauty inamored a young Theffalian, who fucceeded

in the hazardous attempt to carry her off. was afterward decreed that no Pythone's should

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HISTORY TOP CHEROOK

beappointed auder fifty years of age; bur that Sport le dimplicity the thould fill be the incircit poffible to a childle and that even the dress appro-priated to girls should be preferred to here. The time of Pythones appears not to have been defirable ... Either the emanation from the calwith, or forme art of the managers, threw her into real convulsions. Priefts, intitled prothets, led her to the facred tripod, force being often necessary for the purpose, and held her on it till her frency rose to whatever pitch was in their judgement most fit for the occasion. To fegure themselves was not difficult; because those noxious vapors, which have been observed in caveros, in various parts of the world, are formuch specifically heavier than the wholesome air that they never rife above a certain height". But Pythonoffes are faid to have expired Plutarch almost immediately after quitting the tripod, de Defect. and even on the tripod. The broken accents, Lucan. which the wretch uttered in her agony, were Pharfal. collected and arranged by the prophets, and Strab. L. then promulgated, till a late period always in 9 P- 419 verse, as the answer of the god. There were however a few days only in the year on which the god might be interrogated; and these varia able within the power of the priefts. Previous facrifices were moreover necessary, and if the victims were not favorable the Pythoness would in vain folicit infpiration. Thus the priefts had it always in their power to deny antwers,

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See Bergman's Physical and Chemical Effeys, in Collen's translation, v. z. p. 33.

Strab. 1. 9. p. 419. biout, or unintelligible as they judged most advantageous for the credit of the oracle. With frequent opportunities therefore of arrogating the merit of true purphecy, the oracle generally avoided the risk of being convicted of false; the such missesture happened to many oracles less ably conducted, to the no small advantage of Delphi; which thence acquired the reputation, delivered to us in words not advantageous to the general character of those fixed seats of prophecy, of being the least fallacious of all oracles. But if princes or great men applied in a proper manner for the sanction of the god to any undertaking, they seldom failed to receive it in direct terms, provided the reputation of the oracle for truth was not liable to immediate danger from the event.

SECTION III.

Of the Origin and Constitution of the Council of Amphistyons.

IT will now be necessary again to revert for a moment to the fabulous ages, for the origin of an establishment which became important in the political connection of the Grecian people; much from the nature of its constitution, but still more through its charge over that celebrated residence of Apollo, of which an account has just been given. Among the dark consulton and fancisus salfehood of antient tradition,

dition, we find some affurance that there were SECT in very early times, people inhabiting to the northward of mount Œta, and along the coast See ch. s. of the Agean fea castward as far as the Helles this hift. fpont, more inlightened than the fouthern and Stra-Greeks : who in after ages acknowleged obliga - p. 471. tion to instructions from that country, in religion, morality, legislation, and their vehicles music and poetry. We may gather also that the numerous barbarians of the extensive inland count try, continually harraffing the more civilized inhabitants of the coast, drove some to feek fecurer fettlements elsewhere; and by preventing the cultivation of the arts of peace, reduced the rest to become barbarians like themselves. Greece possessed advantageous barriers against these evils, in its several ranges of almost impassable mountains, stretching across the country from fea to fea. The fouthern parts, therefore, with the ilands, afforded refuge for those inhabitants of the northern coaft, who had means of transporting themselves, and effects to fubfift on; and Thrace, as we have already observed, thus shared with Egypt and Phenicia in the honor of civilizing Greece. Theffaly; however, bordering on the barbarian hords, and by the fruitfulness of its foil, singularly tempting to invasion, was in elder times peculiarly subject to revolutions. Yet, among the uncertain and romantic traditions remaining to us concerning Theffaly alfo, there appears foundation to believe that it was, at a very early period, governed by princes VOL. I. more

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more powerful and more informed than their cotemporaries of fouthern Greece. Amone thefe the name of Deucalion is famous: but tho this personage on many accounts excites curiofity, in vain would history investigate the events of his reign. His fan Amphictyon has been generally reputed the author of the renowned inflitution which always bore his name. Report, however, concerning this prince also being too vague for history to follow, the inftitution itself will alone be the abject of our

inquiry.

Ages before letters began to record the transactions of the Greeks, a regular eftablishment had been made of an affembly of deputies from the provinces about mount Œta, who met twice yearly in a temple, dedicated to the goddefs Ceres, near the mouth of the river Afopus, at that pass of Thermopylæ which afterward be-The apparent purpose of the came fo famous. inflitution was to obviate the evils daily arifing from the small extent of the several states: continual rapine, war, and bloodfled among themselves, not without constant danger of utter ruin from forein barbarians. The bufiness, therefore, of the assembly was to decide all disputes between the states of whose deputies it was composed, and to concert common measures of desence against forein enemies. These states are said to have been at first only

Strab. 1. 9. p. 420.

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those over which Deucalion had reigned; comprehending, however, befide Theffaly, fome provinces fouthward of mount CEta, Amphictyon, fon of that prince, is reported to have added Attica to his father's dominions; and from him, as the founder, the affembly at Thermopylæ always bore the name of Amphictyonic, and the members of it were called Amphictyons. But the people of the feveral flates which fent deputies, are faid at the fame time to have received the name of Hellenes from Hellen, another fon of Deucalion, who, we are told, fucceeded his father in that part of his dominions which lay on the Thessalian fide of mount Œta. This name, in process of time, prevailed so as to become the distinguishing appellation of the Greeks in general; through what means we are not fatisfactorily informed by Grecian writers; but apparently nothing contributed fo much as the extensive reputation and influence which the Amphictyonic council acquired. For at an era far beyond the reach of connected history, the jurisdiction of that affembly very confiderably exceeded the supposed bounds of Deucalion's kingdom. Strabo attributes the regulations Strab. 1. which became the basis of its constitution to 9. p. 420.

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[•] Such appears to have been the most received opinion of the most judicious antiquarians among the antients, tho it was not undifputed. The obvious application of the word, with a very small alteration, Augustian, as a description instead of an arbitrary appellation of the persons who composed the affembly, led some to suppose that this was the true name. See Pausan. b. 19. C. S.

CHAP.

Acrifius king of Argos, grandfather of the hero Perfeus. Indeed he rejects, as of no authority, all accounts of the affembly before the age of that prince, declaring politively that what preceded was unknown. The conjectures of the Grecian chronologers, with which, however, the geographer shows himself everywhere little satisfied, placed Amphictyon a century and a half earlier than Acrifius. Sir Isaac Newton supposed them cotemporary, and about a century older than the Trojan war. If the English philosopher is right concerning the chronology, we must add the supposition of a league between the most powerful prince of the northern and the most powerful prince of the fouthern parts of Greece; and this, tho we have no authority for it, appears the most probable way of accounting for the interference of a king of Argos, not mentioned by any tradition as a conqueror, in the regulation of an affembly of states at Thermopylæ 10. In Homer we find no mention of the Amphictyonic affembly: but the ready acquiescence which the poet ascribes to all the Grecian chiefs, as far as the utmost bounds of Thessalv, under the authority of Agamemnon, and the acknowlegement even of the proud and powerful Achilles, appear strongly to indicate that the Argian princes had, through fome means, from

Newton's Chron. p. 12 & 14, & 17 & 443.

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Sir Isaac Newton supposes Amphiciyon to have been the founder of the assembly at Thermopylæ, and Acrisius of that at Delphi; but it does not appear on what authority he founds this distinction. See Strabo, b. 9. p. 420, and Pausanias, b. 10.

of old maintained an influence among the SECT porthern provinces. Ill ad an additing small

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It was still a very early period when the fupreme direction of the concerns of the Delphian oracle, and of the treasures which the superstition of the times poured in presents to the god supposed to preside there, was submitted to the Amphictyons; in confequence of which their vernal fession was removed from Thermopylæ to Delphi. With the increase of the reputation of the oracle, the importance of the Amphictyonic affembly increased; and the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Heracleids very greatly extended both. For the Dorians being an Amphictyonic people, as it was termed, all the states where they established their power, became also Amphictyonic. But Athens, chief of the Ionian hord, was likewise an Amphictyonic flate. All states of Ionic origin, therefore, derived or claimed thence a right to have their representatives in the council; and thus it feems to have been that the name Hellenes obtained univerfal acceptation as the general name of all the Greeks, to the exclusion of the Macedonians and Epirots ". The Delphian people were, however, still acknowleded the legal sew room a sold of your chief to the possessions

antiently a name rectuding all Polyconnelus, shat the colchet

This feems supported by Homer's use of the name. He is evidently always at a loss for a collective appellation for the Greeks. But in the 37th line of his catalogue, he plainly means to include the whole nation under the two names PANHELLENES and ACHAIOI: the former feemingly intended for the northern Greeks, the latter for the fouthern. Thus also in the Odyssee he apparently intends the northern division of the country by the

poffessors of the temple; they were allowed large privileges as the priefts, the attendants. and as it were the family of Apollo; and thus an opinion of facredness became attached to them, while the whole extent of Parnassus acquired also the estimation of facrod ground But it is not improbable that the very fame and growing importance of their oracle became a burthen to them; that the numbers and power of those who came to consult it were too great for the Delphians to preferve the fway necessary for deciding controversies, and regulating proceedings; that even the riches continually increafing under their care, ferved but to make their fituation the more alarming; and thus, if they did not even defire it, they at least acquiesced under the interposition of so respectable an authority as that of the Amphictyonic council. On the other hand, the power thus acquired over everything relative to the most interesting point of Grecian superstition, contributed greatly to increase the influence of the affembly, to give importance to the right of

name Hellas, and the fouthern by the name Argos (1), where under the two he means evidently to include the whole of Greece. The appellation Danaot appears to mark the fouthern Greeks only, or however chiefly. Strabo tells us (2), that Argos was antiently a name including all Peloponnesus; that the epithet Achaic, used by Homer, was derived from the Phthiot Achaians, who came into the peninsula with Pelops, and settled in Laconia; and that Danai was a name which the Peloponnesian Pelasgians received from the Egyptian Danais.

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⁽¹⁾ Odyst l. 1. v. 344, l. 4 v 726, & 816, & l. 14, v. 80, (2) l. 7. P. 365, l, 8, p. 371.

the great Athenian orator calls it, the general

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But the Amphiciyonic affembly, obscure in in origin through extreme antiquity, is not accorately known to us even in those ages from which we might expect accurate information. What the most diligent and judicious modern writers have been able to collect on best authority concerning it, is principally this ". Every independent Grecian state, with perhaps some few occasional exceptions only, had a right, either of itself, or in conjunction with one or more other states, to fend two deputies or representatives. One of these, with the title of Pylagoras, whose office was to transact the civil business of his constituents, was elected by the fuffrages of his fellow-citizens: the other, from his particular privilege of superintending religion and its rites, called Hieromnemon, was appointed by lot. Each had an equal vote on every occasion in which the authority of the council was exerted; and no Amphictyon derived any legal privilege or authority from the rank or estimation which his constituents held among the Grecian states, but all were properly peers. One hieromnemon prefided; and it

feems

What remains from antient authors upon the subject has been largely collected by Dean Prideaux, in his Treatise on the Oxford Marbles. Dr. Leland in the preliminary Discourse to his History of Philip of Macedon, has digested and compared whatever has been transmitted by antient, and imagined by modern writers about it.

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feems probable that the hieromnemon of every state presided in viotations The meeting was opened with folemn facrifices; at Thermonyla to Ceres, at Delphi to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva. The nature of the jurisdiction of the affembly, and the extent of its power. may be in a great measure gathered from the oath taken by every member, a large, and apparently the most important part of which, or perhaps the whole, has been preferved in an oration of Æschines. It runs thus: I swear that I will never fubvert any Amphictyonic city: I will never stop the courses of their water either in war or peace. If any fuch outrages be attempted, I will oppose them by force of arms, and destroy those cities which are 5 guilty of fuch attempt. If any devastations be committed in the territory of the god, if any shall be privy to such offence, or entertain any defign against the temple, I will use my hands, my feet, my whole force, to bring the offending party to condign punishment. An awful imprecation was subjoined; If any I shall violate any part of this solemn ingagement, whether city, private person, or nation, may fuch violators be obnoxious to the vengeance of Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva the Provident. May their land never produce its fruits: May their women never bring forth children of the fame nature with the parents, but offspring unnatural and monfrous: May they be forever defeated in war, in judicial controversies, and in all civil

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Æschin. Or. de fal. legat.

transactions; and may their families, and their whole race, be utterly destroyed: May they never offer an acceptable facrifice to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva the Provident, but may all their facred rites be forever rejected. The first part of this oath is pointed to what was really the most important business of the assembly, and which seems to have been with great wisdom and humanity proposed as the principal end of the institution. the establishment and support of a kind of law of nations among the Greeks, that might check the violence of war among themselves, and finally prevent those horrors, that extremity of mifery, which the barbarity of elder times usually made the lot of the vanquished. Perhaps the view of the founders went yet farther: to bring all disputes between Amphictyonic states before this tribunal, and totally to stop war among them, or to punish it as private war and rebellion. To this however, amid the jear lous claims of every Grecian city to absolute independency, the Amphictyonic council was never equal. Revolutions in early times reduced it to obscurity: and when afterward the increasing same of the Delphian oracle, under its protection, gave it new consequence, its members wifely avoided the attempt to exert an authority which they wanted power effectually to support. Contests between states were, however, always esteemed proper objects of its jurifdiction: but the superintendency of the religion of the Greek nation was more particularly

Amphicipanic flate, and, in case of noncompliance with injunctions, even to levy forces, and to make war on the dischedient, were allowed. Of disputes between private persons it never condescented to take consistance. Its

it never condescended to take consistance. Its preceedings were generally conducted with prudence and dignity; and its decrees, notwithfunding its descioncy of power, were always highly respected.

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Early Diffentions of the Heracleid Princes. Unfettled State of Peloponnefus. Origin of the Grecian Games. Institution of the Olympian Festival by Iphitus King of Elis.

THE RETURN OF THE HERACLEEDS, as the Dorian conquest is commonly termed by Grecian writers, produced a revolution in Peloponnesus so complete that, except in the rugged province of Arcadia, nothing remained unaltered. The Argian princes of the samily of Pelops had acquired such superior power, and a legal preëminence which they claimed seems to have been so generally admitted, that under them one government in some degree pervaded the peninsula; the administration of law gained consistency, civility advanced, and arts began to show themselves. But the Dorian conquest quickly reduced all to that ruder state in which the

the new lords of the country had lived among their native mountains: arts and civility fled with the old inhabitants to flourish in another foil. The first care of the conquering chiefs was to fecure their acquifitions against any attempts of the former polleffors : their next feems to have been to prevent any one among themselves from acquiring a superiority over the reft. Thus probably they hoped to provide against the evils, equally of forein invasion and of domestic jealousy. But in the very partition of the country a cause of future discord arofe. Aristodemus died: his followers, to Paulan. whom Laconia was allotted, thought they had l. 4. c. 3. Herodot. an equal claim to the fairer portion of Messenia; 1. 5. c. 52. a less mountainous and more generally fruitful country, of which they were deprived, as they supposed, only through the inability of their infant sovereins, sons of their deceased leader, to affert their rights. The boundaries also of the feveral allotments were, in the hafte of division, not everywhere accurately ascertained: and early disputes about these led to hostilities. Within the feveral governments moreover, for many years after fo violent a revolution, the unsettled fate of things would often call for the strong arm of power to repress outrage and inforce order. Violence would arife fometimes Thucyd. on the part of the princes; and a conquering 1. 1. c. 13. people, rude, but highspirited, was little dif- Lycurg. posed to admit patiently any exertion of authority not perfectly warranted by established cus-

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tom. Thus, in every state, internal diffentions were feldom interrupted but by external war's and any long intermission of this the situation of Arcadia sufficed to prevent: sheltered by their mountains in their property and their freedom, the Arcadians, bordering upon all, were the natural enemies of all. Peloponnefus thus was relapfing into a state of anarchy and barbarism like that in which it had existed before Pelops and Hercules, a live sale laine

From very early times it had been customary among the Greeks to hold numerous meetings for purposes of festivity and focial amusement, A foot-race, a wrestling match, or some other Horodon, rude trial of bodily strength and activity, formed originally the principal entertainment; so far only perhaps more respectable in its kind than our country wakes, as it had more immediate reference to that almost ceaseless warfare which prevailed in elder Greece. It was probably the connection of these GAMES with the warlike character that occasioned their introduction at funerals in honor of the dead; a custom which, we learn from Homer, was in his time antient. 22. v. 630. But all the violence of the early ages was unable to repress that elegance of imagination which feems congenial to Greece. Very antiently a contention for a prize in poetry and music was a favourite entertainment of the Grecian people; and when connected, as it often was, with fome ceremony of religion, drew together large affemblies of both fexes.

Iliad. 1. 24. V. 87.

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fexes ". A festival of this kind in the little five iland of Delos, at which Homer affifted, brought a numerous concourse from different parts by fea: and Hefiod informs us of a splendid meeting for the celebration of various games at Chalcis in Eubœa, where himself obtained the Hesiod. prize for poetry and fong. The contest in mu- 1,2, v. 273. fic and poetry feems early to have been particularly connected with the worship of Apollo. When this was carried from the ilands of the Ægean to Delphi, a prize for poetry was inftituted; whence arose the Pythian games. But it appears from Homer that Games, in which Odvff.1.s. athletic exercises and music and dancing were alternately introduced, made a common amufement of the courts of princes; and before his time the manner of conducting them was fo far reduced to a fystem, that public judges of the games are mentioned as a kind of established odys. 1.s. magistrate. The Games, thus improved, greatly refembled the tilts and tournaments of the ages of chivalry. Men of high rank only prefumed to ingage in them; but a large concourse of all orders attended as spectators: and to keep regularity among these was perhaps the most necessary office of the judges. But the most folemn meetings, and which drew together people of distinguished rank and character; often When whe was to take a spoke of the late.

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²³ _____ Expiriture, laore, nyipitorras Αυτοίς σύν φάιδισσι και αιδοίης αλόχοισιν. " Οι δί σε συγμαχίη το καὶ όρχηθμο καὶ αοιδο Μιησάμινοι, τέρτουσιν όται ςήσωται άγωτα. Hymn. ad Apoll. ap. Thucyd. 1. 3. c. 104. from

CHAP. from distant parts, were at the funerals of eminent men. The paramount fovereins of Peloponnesus did not disdain to attend these ". which were celebrated with every circumstance of magnificence and splendor that the age could afford. The funeral of Patroclus, described in the Iliad, may be confidered as an example of what the poet could imagine in its kind most complete. The games, in which prizes were there contended for, were the chariot-race, the foot-race, boxing, wreftling, throwing the quoit and the javelin, shooting with the bow, and fencing with the spear. And in times when none could be rich or powerful but the ftrong and active, expert at martial exercises, all those trials of skill appear to have been esteemed equally becoming men of the highest rank; tho it may feem, from the prizes offered and the persons contending at the funeral of Patroclus, the poet himself saw, in the game of the casttus, fome incongruity with exalted characters.

Iliad. 1. 23. V. 634. Odyff. I. 3. V. 120. & feq. & aos & leq.

West, on the Olympic Games

Iliad. 1. 11. v. 697. Iliad. l. 2. y. 623.

Traditions are preserved of Games celebrated in Eleia, upon feveral great occasions, in very early times, with more than ordinary pomp, by affemblies of chiefs from different parts of Greece. Homer mentions such at Elis under king Augeas, cotemporary with Hercules, and

14 Agamemnon speaks of having frequently attended such meetings:

"Ηδη μὶν σολίων τάφο ἀιδρῶν ἀιδιδόλησα Ήρων, ότι κίν σοτ, ἀποφθιμένου βασιλόος, Zúproslás te rios, nal imerrirorras aeban.

Odyff. 1. 24. V. 87.

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grandfather of one of the chiefs who commanded the Eleian troops in the Trojan war; and again at Buprafium in Eleia, for the funeral of Ameryncous, while Neftor was yet in the vigor Iliad. 1. of youth. But it does not at all appear from Homer that in his time, or ever before him. any periodical festival was established like that which afterward became so famous, under the title of the Olympiad or the Olympian Contest, or, as our writers, translating the Latin phrase, have commonly termed it, the Olympian Games. On the contrary, every mention of fuch games, in his extant works. shows them to have been only occasional folemnities; and Strabo has re- Strab. I. marked that they were diftinguished by a characteristical difference from the Olympian. these the honor derived from receiving publicly a crown or chaplet, formed of a branch of oleafter 15, was the only reward of the victor: but in Homer's games-the prizes were not merely honorary, but intrinfically valuable; and the value was often very considerable. After Homer's age, through the long troubles infuing from the Dorian conquest, and the great change made in the population of the country, the customs and institutions of the Peloponnesians were so alter- Paulan. L ed and overthrown, that even memory of the 5. c. 8. antient games was nearly loft.

In this feason of surbulence and returning barbarism, Iphitus, a descendant, probably grandfon of Oxylus (the fo deficient were the Paufan. I.

5. C. 4.

15 Korino rigares. Ariftoph. Plut. v. 186.

means

means of transmitting information to posterity; that we have no affurance even of his father's name) succeeded to the throne of Elis. This prince was of a genius that might have produced a more brilliant character in a more inlightened age, but which was perhaps more beneficial to mankind in the rough times in which he lived. Active and enterprizing, but not by inclination a warrior, he was anxious to find a remedy for the diforderly fituation of his country, and to restore that more improved state of things which. by the accounts of antient people, once had being there, but now was only to be found beyond the bounds of Peloponnesus. Among all the violences of domestic feuds and forein wars. fuperstition still maintained its dominion undiminished over the minds of the Peloponnesian Dorians: the oracle of Delphi was held in no less reverence by them than by their forefathers among the woods and crags of Parnaffus. that oracle, therefore, Iphitus looked for fupport in the project which he meditated. He fent a folemn embassy to Delphi to supplicate information from the deity of the place. ' How the anger of the gods, which threatened total destruction to Peloponnesus through endless hostilities among its people, might be avert-He received for answer, what himself, as a judicious critic has observed, had probably fuggested, . That the Olympic festival must be restored: for the neglect of that solemnity ' had brought on the Greeks the indignation of the god Jupiter, to whom it was dedicated,

West on the Olyanpic Games

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and of the hero Hercules, by whom it had SECT. been instituted: and that a cessation of arms must therefore immediately be proclaimed for all cities defirous of partaking in it "." This response of the god was promulgated throughout Greece; and Iphitus, in obedience to it, caused the armistice to be proclaimed. But the other Peloponnesians, full of respect for the authority of the oracle, yet uneafy at the afcendancy thus affumed by the Eleians, fent a common deputation to Delphi, to inquire concerning the authenticity of the divine mandate reported to them. The Pythoness, however, feldom averse to authorize the schemes of kings and legislators, adhered to her former answer: and commanded the Peloponnesians 'to submit to the directions and authority of the Eleians, ' in ordering and establishing the antient laws

and customs of their forefathers.'

Supported thus by the oracle, and incouraged by the ready fubmission of all the Peloponnefians to it, Iphitus proceeded to model his in-Ritution. Jupiter, the chief of the gods, being now the acknowleged patron of the plan, and the prince himfelf, under Apollo, the promulgator of his will, it was ordained that a festival fhould be held at the temple of Jupiter at Olympia, near the town of Pifa in Eleia, open to the

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¹⁶ Differtation on the Olympic Games, by Gilbert West, Esq. whose account has been here principally followed. It has been chiefly furnished by a fragment of Phlegon, preserved in the Chronicon of Eusebius, but derives occasional support from Strabo, Paufanias, and other writers.

CHAP.

whole Greek nation; and that it should be repeated at the termination of every fourth year: that this festival should confist in solemn facrifices to Jupiter and Hercules, and in games celebrated to their honor: and as wars might often prevent, not only individuals, but whole states, from partaking in the benefits with which the gods would reward those who properly shared in the solemnity, it was ordained, under the fame authority, that an armistice should take place throughout Greece for some time before the commencement of the festival. and continue for fome time after its conclusion. For his own people, the Eleians, Iphitus procured an advantage never perhaps injoyed, at least in equal extent, by any other people upon earth. A tradition was current that the Heracleids, on appointing Oxylus at the fame time to the throne of Elis, and to the guardianship of the temple of Olympian Jupiter, had, under the fanction of an oath, confecrated all Eleia to the god, and denounced the severest curses, not only on any who should invade it, but also on all who should not defend it against invaders. Iphitus procured univerfal acquiescence to the authority of this tradition; and the deference paid by the Grecian people, while independency had a being among them, both to the general truce, and to the perpetual immunity of the Eleian territory, is not among the least remarkable circumstances of Grecian history. A reputation of facredness became attached to the whole Eleian people as the hereditary priest-

Strab. 1. 8. p. 357, hood of Jupiter; and a pointed difference in SECT. character and pursuits arose between them and the other Greeks. Little disposed to ambition. and regardless even of the pleasures of a townlife, their general turn was wholly to rural bufiness and rural amusements. Elsewhere the country was left to hinds and herdmen, who were mostly flaves: men of property, for fecurity, as well as for purfuits of ambition and pleafure, refided in fortified towns. But the towns Strab. 1. of Eleia, Elis itself the capital, remained un- 8. p. 353. fortified: and to the time of Polybius, who faw Hift. 1. 4the liberty of Greece expire, tho the Eleians p. 336, were the wealthieft people of Peloponnesus, vet the richest of them mostly resided upon their estates, and many without ever visiting Elis.

At the Olympian festival, as established by Pausan I. Iphitus, the foot-race, diffinguished by the 5, c. 8. name of Stadion, was the only game exhibited: whether the various other exercises, familiar in Homer's age, had fallen into total oblivion, of the barbarism and poverty, superinduced by the violent and lafting troubles which followed the return of the Heracleids, forbad those of greater splendor. Afterward, as the growing importance of the meeting occasioned inquiry concerning what had been practifed of old, or excited invention concerning what might be advantageously added new, the games were multiplied. The Diaulos, a more complicated footrace, was added at the fourteenth Olympiad;

Wreftling and the Pentathlon, or game of five exercises, at the eighteenth; Boxing at the

twenty-

CHAP. twenty-third: the Chariot-race was not reftored till the twenty-fifth; of course not till a hundred years after the institution of the festival: the Pancration and the Horse-race were added in the thirty-third. Originally the facrifices, processions, and various religious ceremonies must have formed the principal pageantry of the meeting. Afterward, perhaps, the games became the greater inducement to the prodigious refort of company to Olympia; tho the religious ceremonies still continued to increase in magnificence as the festival gained importance. A mart or fair was a natural confequence of a periodical affembly of multitudes in one place; and whatever required extensive publicity, whatever was important for all the feattered members of the Greek nation to know, would be most readily communicated, and most folemnly, by proclamation at the Olympian festival. Hence treaties between the several states were often by mutual agreement, proclaimed at Olympia; and fometimes columns were erected there, at the joint expence of the contracting parties, with the treaties ingraved. Thus the Olympian meeting in some degree fupplied the want of a common capital for the Greek nation; and, with a fuccess far beyond what the worthy founder's imagination, urged by his warmest wishes, could reach, contributed to the advancement of arts, particularly of the fine arts, of commerce, of science, of civilized manners, of liberal fentiments, and of friendly friendly communication among all the Grecian SECT.

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The advantages and gratifications in which the whole nation thus became interested, and the particular benefits accruing to the Eleians, excited attempts to establish or improve other fimilar meetings in different parts of Greece. Three of these, the Delphian, Ishmian and Nemean, tho they never equalled the celebrity and fplendor of the Olympian, acquired confiderable fame and importance. Each was confecrated to a different deity. In the Delphic, Apollo was honored: the Delphian people administered to him; the Amphictyonic council patronized the inftitution. Neptune was the deity of the Ishmian festival, which had its name from the Corinthian isthmus, near the middle of which stood a temple of the god, overlooking the scene of the solemnity. The Corinthian people directed. At the Nemean, facred to Juno, the Argians prefided. These meetings were all open, like the Olympian, in war as in peace, to all Grecian people. They were also all held at intervals of four years, each taking its year between the Olympian meetings; fo that every fummer there was a festival common to the Greek nation, with an armistice inabling all who defired to attend.

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APPENDIX TO THE THIRD CHAPTER.

Of the Chronology of Grecian History.

NO circumstance of Grecian history has been more labored by learned men, and yet none remains more uncertain and unfatisfactory than its Chronology. I would most willingly have avoided all discussion of a subject which has already filled fo many volumes, and to only touch upon which must considerably interrupt the tenor of a narration in its nature too much otherwise subject to interruption. The very names indeed of Scaliger, Selden, Lidyat, Marfham, Prideaux, Petavius, Calvifius, Pezron, Usher, Newton, Jackson, and lastly the indefatigable Freret, might more than suffice to deter from the attempt to throw new light on a matter which they have fuccessively handled, and on which they have so little agreed. But as history cannot hold together without some fystem of chronology, and as the result of my refearches will not permit me to accept what has of late most obtained, it appeared an indifpenfable duty of the office I have undertaken, to risk the declaration of my opinion, not without some explanation of the ground of it. This indeed might have been done, without interruption of the history, by a preliminary differtion: but to be intelligible I must then have been more prolix, and much repetition would have been unavoidable. The history itself will

now affift the illustration I propose of its chro- CHAP. nology; in which, however, far from undertaking to make all clear and luminous, my aim will be no more than to affift the reader, whose studies have not been particularly directed this way, amid darkness and difficulty, to avoid gross error, and chuse the best ground to rest upon.

When a nation is first emerging from barbarifm, all views are directed to the future: tranfactions past are of so little consequence, that a point from which accounts of time may originate is not an obvious want, and the deficiency is beyond remedy before it is felt. It was probably not long before Homer that the Greeks began to be attentive to genealogy; for the poet is unable to trace the pedigree of any of his heroes, except the royal family of Troy. beyond the fourth generation upward. Yet the genealogies of eminent men have perhaps been everywhere the first assistants toward ascertaining the dates of past events: feeble at best, and in the early days of Greece the more fo through the general ignorance of writing, together with the continual troubles of the country, which made it difficult by any means to preferve certain accounts of pedigrees through a number of generations. When arts and learning were first springing in Peloponnesus under the benign influence of a more fettled polity, the return of the Heracleids violently stopped their progress, checked and dissipated antient tradition, and through expulsions, migrations, and various political troubles to a great extent

APPEND. and of long continuance, prevented the means of communicating even recent transactions with any exactness to posterity. When again the darkness superinduced by that revolution began to clear, we find hereditary monarchy fuperfeded, in most of the Grecian states, by republican government and annual magistracy. This very much weakened the old means of afcertaining dates; because, among genealogies, none could be fo obvious to general knowlege as those of princes. Yet, on the other hand, had the republican forms become at once regular and permanent, new means would have been opened, capable of far greater accuracy: for it might then have been possible to ascertain the year by the name of the magistrates of the time in different principal cities. In the unfettled state of governments, however, and the deficiency of writing, registers of magistracy were little regularly kept: the year was differently divided in the feveral states of Greece, and inaccurately calculated in all of them; and no era had been established from which to reckon years. Little indeed was chronology likely to acquire confistency, while compositions in profe for public use were unknown. The oldest Grecian profe-writers, known to the antients themfelves, were Cadmus of Miletus and Pherecydes of Syrus, mentioned by Pliny to have lived during the reign of Cyrus king of Persia; nearly, therefore, about the time when laws were first put in writing among the Greeks, by Draco at Athens, and by Zaleucus for the Epizephyrian

Plin. Nat. Hift. 1. 7. c. 56. Joseph. cont. Apion. Strab. 1. 6. p. 259.

rian Locrians, and not till some centuries after CHAP. the Heracleid revolution. In the next generation Hecatæus of Miletus composed a historical work in profe, which had fome reputation with posterity; and about the same time Pherecydes, Dionys. an Athenian, wrote of the antiquities and an- Hal. Antient genealogies of his own country. The name 1. 1. of Acufilaus of Argos has been transmitted as an earlier author: but the work of Pherecydes was the first composed in profe, on the continent of Greece, which retained any confiderable credit. It was long extant, and was generally esteemed the most valuable upon its subject; yet how little fatisfactory it was, whoever has but looked into what remains from Strabo, Plutarch and Paufanias, may fufficiently judge. Herodotus, who lived about half a century after the Athenian Pherecydes, is the oldest Greek prose author preserved to us. Former histories were but dry registers of facts, like that curious and valuable monument of our own antient history, the Anglosaxon annals. Herodotus first taught to give grace to detail in profe narration; and at once with fuch fuccefs, that he has had, from the ableft Cic. de writers in the most polished ages, the titles of Leg. 1. 1. father and prince of history 17. But we gain lit- Orat. 1. 1.

³⁷ Græci ipsi sic initio scriptitarunt ut noster Cato, ut Pictor, ut Pifo. Erat enim historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio-sine ullis ornamentis monumenta folum temporum, hominum, locorum, gestarumque rerum reliquerunt. Itaque qualis apud Græcos Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acusilas suit, aliique permulti, talis noster Cato & Pictor & Piso. M. T. Cic. de Orat. 1. 2. c. 12.

APPEND. the light from him concerning the chronology of antient times, farther than by fome genealogies, and even those not undisputed. The preface of the judicious Thucydides, a few years only later than Herodotus, affords the clearest and most authentic information remaining, for the connection of Grecian history from the Homeric age to the times immediately preceding the Persian invasion; and at the same time ftrongly shows the deficiency of authorities, even for the history itself, and far more for its chronology. Still in Thucydides's time no era had been determined from which to reckon dates: the common method was to compute backward, either from the time present, or from some well-known period not distant, and that often not without great latitude. Thus Herodotus describes the time of events by faying they happened fo many hundred years before his time; which scarcely fixes them within half a century. The more exact Thucydides

> In that very valuable collection the Anglofaxon Annals, which, however dry and jejune, is perhaps the fairest monument of early history that any European nation possesses, we find remarkable proof of the difficulty of giving grace to profe in an uncultivated language. The author of the Annals of the years 938 and 942, and also the author of that of the year 975, if he was a different person, has been a man of genius, apparently aware of the dulness of the preceding compilation, and determined to relieve it by a more spirited stile of narrative; but, unable to fatisfy himself in prose, he has done it in verse; and in verse which, tho, from antiquity of diction or corruption in transcription, obscure in a phrase or two, has nevertheless been deservedly the admiration of all who in any degree understand the language of our Saxon ancestors.

commonly reckons backward from the year in CHAP.

which the Peloponnesian war was concluded. A little after Thucydides, in the time of Socrates. Hippias, an Eleian, published a catalogue of the victors in the Olympian games. This, if we might trust the specification of an Olympiad by its number, as it stands in our copies of Xenophon's Grecian annals, would Xen. Helappear to have been early adopted as a commo- c. 2. f. t. dious chronological scale ". But we are informed by Plutarch, that the catalogue of Hippias had little reputation for accuracy 19; and we find it still long before the Olympiads came into general use for the purpose of dating. Ephorus, the disciple of Isocrates, in his chronological history of Greece from the return of the Heracleids to the twentieth year of the reign of Philip of Macedon, digested his calculation of dates by generations only; and even the famous Arundel marbles, faid to have been composed fixty years after the death of Alexander.

make no mention of Olympiads, but reckon. backward by years from the time present. The first systematic use of the Olympian catalogue for the purpose of chronology was by Timæus Siculus, in his general history, published foon

¹⁸ There feems too much reason to doubt the authenticity of that specification. See Marsham. Can. fæc. 16. cap, de primo Olymp. p. 504, & Dodwell, Annal. Xenoph. & differt. oct. de Cyclis Lacon. fect. 19.

¹⁹ Τους μεν όδο χρόνους έξακριδώσαι χαλισόν έτι, και μάλιτα τους λα των Ολυμπιοιίκων αναγομένους. ων την αναγραφήν όψε φασίν Ίππίαι Ικδούναι Ήλλιον, άπ' δυθειός δρμώμετει άναγκάτου σεός πίτι. Plut. vit. Numæ.

APPEND.

after the date of the Arundel marbles. That historian endeavoured to correct chronology by comparing the fuccession of kings and ephors at Sparta, of archons at Athens, and of priestesses of Juno at Argos, with the lift of Olympian victors. His work is unfortunately loft. About forty years later, Eratosthenes, librarian of Alexandria under Ptolemy Soter, digested a chronological fystem by the Olympiads, so much more complete than any before known, that he has had the reputation of being the father of scientific chronology. But both his work and that of Apollodorus the Athenian, who followed him, are also loft. What therefore were his grounds of calculation for the early ages, and what those canons which Dionysius the Halicarnassian approved, we cannot know. But we know that those canons had not universal approbation. Plutarch speaks of them most disrespectfully even where they relate to times bordering upon certain chronology 20. Strabo, perhaps the ablest of the antient antiquarians, has followed Homer with evident fatisfaction. tracing him, both as geographer and historian, step by step, and verifying his accounts by his own observation and reading; but he hesitates where Homer leaves him, and gives abundant

Dionyf., Hal. Antiq. Rom.

Blair's Preface.



20 Την δε προς Κροϊσον εντευξεν ἀυτου (του Σέλωνος) δουουσιν ενιευτος χρόνοις ὡς πεπλασμένην ελί[χειν' Εγώ δε λόγον ενδοξον ὁυτω, κὰι τοσόυτους μάρτυρας εχουτα—όυ μοι δουῶ προήσεσθαι χροικοῖς τισι λεγομένοις κανόσεν, ὁψε μυρίοι διορθώθες ἄχρι σώμερον, ὡς ὁυδὶν ἀυτοῖς ὁμολογόυμενον δενανται καταςῆσαι τὰς ἀντιλογίας. Plutarch. v. Solon.

proof that he had no faith in that chronology CHAP. which undertook to arrange history, either before or after the times of which Homer treats. till the Persian invasion 21. Pausanias reports contradictions in regard both to the arrangement of time, and the arrangement of pedigrees in antient Grecian history, and freely confesses his inability to reconcile them 22. But Plutarch's testimony against the chronologers is most explicit: 'Thousands,' he says, 'conti- See notes nue to this day endeavouring to correct the 17 & 18 in chronological canons, and can yet bring them ceding to no confistency.' It feems as if doubts had page. decreased in modern times in proportion, not to the acquisition of means for discovering truth, but to the lofs of means for detecting falsehood 23.

21 See particularly his remarks upon the variety of traditions concerning the origin of the Olympian games. Doubt feems fcarcely to have ceafed with him concerning the history of that festival itself, even where the regular computation by Olympiads begins: 'Εάσαι γὰς δῖι τα ταλαιὰ. Τὰ γὰς τοιᾶυτα πολλαχῶς λέγεται καί δυ πάνυ πις έυεται. Εγγυτέρω δι της πίςτως ότι μέχρι της έκτης και εικοτής 'Ολυμπιάδος, από της σεώτης εν ή Κόροιδος ενέκα rádios Ήλειος, την αφοςασίαν διχον του ίκου και του αγώνος Ήλειοι. Strab. 1. 8. p. 355.

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22 'Οι μίν δή Ελλήνων λόγοι διάφοροι τα σλέονα, και ουχ ήκισα έπ τοῖς γένεσιν ἐισί. Paufan. l. 8. c. 53.

This appears very remarkably in some observations of the very learned Freret on the Arundel marbles: 'Quand à l'autorité que doit avoir la Chronique de Paros, je crois qu'elle peut

etre affez grande pour l'histoire des temps héroïques; cette

'Chronique étant la seule qui nous soit restée un peu entière de toutes celles que les anciens avoient publiées. - Mais il s'en

' faut beaucoup que la Chronique ait le meme degré d'autorité ' pour l'histoire generale & politique de la Gréce. De

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APPEND.

The chronology, at present most received, has been formed principally from those famous marbles brought from the Levant for the earl of Arundel, and now in the possession of the university of Oxford, together with some fragments of the chronologers Eratosthenes, Apollodorus, and Thrafyllus, preserved chiefly in the chronicon of Eusebius, and the stromata of Clemens Alexandrinus. Those marbles, whose fame has fo much exceeded their worth, have been proved in some instances false; and what can we think of the authority of the chronologers, when such authors as Strabo, Plutarch, and Paufanias, coming after them, never deign even to quote them, but endeavouring to inveftigate the same subjects, declare that they were unable to fatisfy themselves, and report the uncertainties that occurred? The chronology built on fuch frail foundations is also in itself improbable, and even inconfiftent with the most authentic historical accounts. All these considerations together urged the great Newton to attempt the framing of a system of chronology, for the early ages of Greece, from the best hiftorical traditions of political events, compared with the most authentic genealogies; and he

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quelque part que foient venues les méprifes il est sur qu'il y en a plusieurs dans la Chronique de Paros, &c.' Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. t. 26. What is this but faying, 'You may trust the marbles for what their author could not know, tho they are certainly false in what he might easily have learnt, and ought to have reported with accurate fidelity.' One of the instances of mistake mentioned by Freret, relates to so remarkable an event of so late a date as the battle of Leuctra.

endeavoured to verify it from accounts of CHAP. aftronomical observations. He never finished this work for publication, or it would probably have come to us less open to objection. Being printed after his death, it had for fome time. however, great credit. But of late the favor of learned men, has inclined much to the former fystem; which, in our own country, Dr. Blair, in his expensive and valuable Tables, has implicitly followed; and, in France, the wonderful diligence of the very learned Freret has been employed in the endeavour to prove, that the real chronology of early Greece was still more at variance with all remaining history than even that which Dr. Blair has adopted. To explain therefore what I have to urge in apology for my preference of Sir Isaac Newton's fystem, it may be necessary to lay before the reader a synopsis of the more received chronology, which I shall give from Blair's Tables.

The deluge, according to archbishop Usher, whom Blair has followed, was two thousand three hundred and forty-eight years before the Christian era. The kingdom of Sicyon is faid to have been founded only two hundred and fifty-nine years later. The lift of kings of Sicyon is carried up to that period; but the next historical event in Greece is the founding of Argos by Inachus, two hundred and thirtythree years after the founding of Sicyon by Ægialeus. I shall not inlarge upon the absurdity of the pretence to establish the date of fuch

APPEND. fuch an infulated fact, and of tracing a fuccession of kings so far beyond all connected accounts of transactions in the country; because it has been a supposition, not less received, that than the age of Phoroneus, nothing was known

Plat. Timæns, p. 22. t. 3. ed. Serran.

See page vol.

Phoroneus and Ægialeus, fons of Inachus, founded Argos and Sicyon nearly at the fame time. We have indeed Plato's testimony that, earlier of Greece. After the founding of Argos the Flood of Ogyges is the next event of any importance: it is supposed to have happened fixty years later. Whether any person of the name of Ogyges ever lived in Greece appears, however, very uncertain. The term Ogygian, used in after-ages to express extreme antiquity, time beyond certain knowlege, feems, from the use which Homer makes of it, to have been not originally Grecian, and, if we may trust Æschylus, it was Ægyptian 24. After Ogyges a void follows, which chronology would afcertain to be of just two hundred and eight years. Then Cecrops founded Athens. Dates thus wide of all connection with history are not for the historian to comment upon. With Cecrops, however, we find ourselves approaching to a train of historical events, fo far connected that the memory of man might possibly reach from one to the other, and link tradition sufficiently for some conjectural calculation. Descalion is

²⁴ It feems not likely that Homer would have called the diftant and fabulous iland of Calypso Ogygia from the name of a Grecian prince. Asfehylus calls the capital of Upper Beypt Ogygian Thebes. Æschyl. Perf. v. 39.

faid to have been cotemporary with Cectons, CHAP, Amphictyon, fon of Doucalion, is the reputed founder of the council which bore his name. Cadmus was cotemporary with Amphictyon Danaüs came into Greece only eight years after Cadmus. The connection is then lefs fatisfactorily supported during near a century and half to Acrifius in tholds afterward better, through eighty years, to the Argonautic expedition. And here at length a crowd of remarkable perfonages and many important events break upon us is probable fuccession : Pelops, Ægeus, Œneus, Augeas, Neleus, Tyndareus, Euryftheus, Hercules, Jason, Theseus, and that Minos mensioned by Hesiod, Homer, Herodotus. Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, and Strabo; for the chronologers have imagined a prior Minos unknown to all those authors. With these perfonages we have the Argonautic expedition, the wars of Thessaly, the wars of Hercules in Peloponnesus, the Theban war, the war of Mihos with Athens, the establishment of the Cretan maritime power with the suppression of piracy, the reformation of the Athenian government, the expulsion of the posterity of Perseus from Peloponnesus, with the full establishment of the power of the family of Pelops, and finally the war of Troy. History regularly connects these events, and the chronology which fixes the Argonautic expedition to the year before Christ twelve hundred fixty-three, places the expedition against Troy less than seventy years later. Chronology then continues to go .. VOL. I. hand

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Argue land in hand with history as far as the wettin of the Herschidse but here many ages of darks ness infue o The next events in Peloponnesses, of any importance, and which bring forward any confiderable characters to the potice of history, are the inditution of the Olympian games by Iphitus, and the legiflation of Lace damon by Lycurgus; and chronologers affect, that this interval, in which neither man acquired fame non event had any confequence; was of no lefs than two hundred and twenty. years: Freret makes it two hundred eightythree. Then follows another void of one hundred and eight years to another Iphitus, under whose presidency at the Olympic sessival Cou roebus was victor, in what ever after bore the title of the first Olympiad. From this era chronology begins again to approach toward a connection with history, but for near two hundred years it remains yet very uncertain. The most important events of the most polithed. frate of Greece, the legislation of Draco, and even the legislation of Solom at Athens, are of uncertain date; the the former is on probable grounds placed above a century and half after the first Olympiad. Toward the fixty fourth Olympiad, above two hundred and fifty years after the victory of Corobus, books were full fo little common, and means of multiplying Plat. Hip- them to little known, that Hipparchus, to promote the knowlege of letters among the Athers nian people, caused moral fentences in perfe ingraved on marble, to be fet up in the public ways

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ways of Attica for a kind of public library. GRAZ, Herodotus, the earliest Grecian profe-writer whose works remain to us, sourished about seventy years after. The Olympian catalogue was first published by Hippias the Eleian nor till toward the hundredth Olympiad. The first hissory digested by Olympiads, that of Timaus, was above a hundred years later; and Eratof-thenes, called the father of antient chronology, did not sourish till about the hundred and thirty-third Olympiad.

After this synopsis of that chronology which has had countenance from formany respectable names of modern and fo few of antient times, it may be advantageous to take a fhort view of the means remaining, together with the means which the antient authors themselves poffessed, as far as we can know them, for tracing events through the early ages of Greece: because, as the authority of the history itself depends upon those means, from them also its chronology will derive its best, and indeed only folid support. The principal works of Henod and Homer, two of the oldest, and the most valuable among the oldest authors known to the antients, have been fortunately transmitted to us. In what age those authors lived is undecided; but that it was fome centuries before profe-compofitions for public use were known in Greece was never doubted. In their age accounts of great events were preferved chiefly by memory. affifted with verse. In the uncontested work of Heffod, his poem intitled Of Works and Days.

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See chap.

Arraype there remains to us a funmary of things from the creation to his own time. He begins with what he terms the golden age, which feems a of this hin. tradition derived from the East concerning the regrestelal paradise, and the state of man before the fall THe proceeds to the filver age, which an comparing it with the account of Moles, appears not less evidently a relic of tradition concerning the antedduvian world. The brazensage follows; in which he defcribes precifely that favage state of the western nations of which Plutarch gives an account more in detail in his life of Thefeus. In speaking of the fucceeding generation, whom he calls the race of heroes, the poet confines his description more pointedly to his own country: he mentions the wars of Thebes and Troy by name. The next race of men to thefe, he fays, was that with which he himself lived, and this he calls the iron race. The golden race, he tells us, were exalted after death to a fuperior flaterof being; the filver race were hid in his anger by the immediate hand of the deity; but no fuch intervention of fupernatural power is mentioned in the account of the brazen, the heroic, and the iron race sit is fimply faid that fuch races fucceeded one another; and the latest historical event noticed is the Trojan war. If any furmife concerning the poet's own age can be fairly founded upon this hiltorical deduction, it must be that he was born in the time of the fons, and lived probably with the grandions and great-grandfons of those who fought at 51641 Troy.

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The chronelogy of Homer does not go fo high, but it is continued lower. Homer reckons time upward no farther than he can trace the genealogies of his heroes, which all end in a god, a rivery or fome unaccountable perfonage. in the fecond, third, or at most the fourth generation beyond those of the Trojan war. The royal race of Troy forms the only exception: Jupiter was ancestor in the seventh degree to Hector. Negative proof furely cannot be stronger against that antiquity to which fome of the Grecian towns in late ages pretended. Homer's Grecian chronology begins thus scarcely before the age of Pelops, a generation or two earlier than the Theban war: and Hends with the restoration of Orestes, greatgrandfon, or, according to fome, great-greatgrandfon of Pelops 26, to the throne of Argos. Within these limits Grecian history is regular and brobable; and chronology, according to every opinion of the learned who have endea-Voured to illustrate it, sufficiently tallies with The course of events. But this luminous pe-

fros This is Sir I fase Newton's supposition, the he has understoped the golden and the filver ages or races to relate particularly to Greece, as well as the brazen, the heroic, and the iron; an opinion which I must confess appears to me wholly unwarranted.

ried stands most oddly insulated. That it should

have been preceded by times without history is

not wonderful: but that it should have been

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followed by fo many centuries of utter darkness as chronologers have imagined, appears most unaccountable. It would be of fome importance both to the history and to the chronology of early Greece, if it were possible to ascertain the great poet's own age. The, therefore, the variety of opinions upon this fubject makes any discussion of it hazardous, it yet appears a part of the duty of the office I have undertaken, not to avoid the declaration of my own; and in hope of elucidating, in fome degree, and confirming the account which I have ventured to give of that dark period which begins where Homer's history ends, I will here bring under one point of view fome circumflances of proof upon which my opinion principally refts.

Herodot. 1, 2, c. 53.

None of the early Grecian writers have undertaken to fix the era of the Trojan war; but Herodotus affirms that Homer lived four hundred years before his own age ". He does not inform us how that period was calculated; but manythings remaining from other early authors, and among them the dates reported by Thucydides, tend to make the affertion probable, and it has indeed been generally admitted. For the time then from the Trojan war to the poet's age,

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^{77.} In quoting the authority of Herodotus, I refer to that only of his general history. I am not inclined to give any credit to the life of Homer attributed to him. The arguments against its authenticity appear to me much dropper than those in its favor; and not least the internal evidence of the work itself. See the first note of Wesseling's edition.

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there is evidence within his remaining works CH. which feems to mark it strongly. Four pelfages appear to speak to it in some degree affirmatively: three of them indeed but loofely, and rather by implication than directly; but the fourth in pointed terms. In the Odyffee a convertation is introduced concerning subjects for poetry, where it is remarked, that 'those Odys. I. subjects are preferred for celebration, in which, through the recency of the transof actions, the hearers have a nearer interest." Now this would stand contradicted by the poet's practice, if the events which he celebrates happened, as some have imagined, five, four; three, two, or even one century before the people for whom he composed were born. In the Odyffee again, we find another remarkable passage concerning subjects for poetry: The gods, wrought the fate of Odyff. 1. Troy, and decreed the destruction of men, that there might be subjects for poetry to future generations.' Had the poet lived after the return of the Heracleids, that revolution would have furnished subjects far more nearly interesting to hearers, in any part of either Greece itfelf, or the Grecian fettlements in Afia Minor, than the war of Troy. These two paffages, therefore, feem ftrongly to indicate that he lived not long after the times of which on his poems principally treat. The third passage may perhaps prove that he did not live abfo-Intely in those times: speaking in his own perfon of the Trojan war, he fays, I have these Hiad I a. shere

Iliad. 1.

Arrano. things only by report, and not of my own 'knowlege;' which, however, would be very fuperfluous information to his auditors, if he did not live fo near those times that, in his old age, it might be doubted if his early youth had not been passed in them. It has been often observed that Homer shows himself, upon all occasions, remarkably disposed to extol the family of Æneas, and fingularly careful to avoid what might give them offence; whence it has been inferred that the posterity of that chief existed and were powerful in the poet's age; nor indeed can the circumstance be otherwife accounted for. One passage, however, appears to fpeak pointedly to the purpose: the god Neptune is introduced declaring prophetically that ' Æneas shall reign over the Trojans, 20. v. 308. and the fons of his fons, and these who shall be born after them.' In its most natural interpretation this passage seems to mark precifely the number of generations from Æneas to his descendants cotemporary with the poet; and with any other interpretation the fense is dubious and incomplete, in a manner not usual with Homer.

These are then, I believe, the only passages within Homer's extant works that speak at all affirmatively to the age in which he lived. They are not conclusive, and yet united, they are ftrong. But the negative evidence, which his works afford in confirmation of them, is fuch that, but for the respect due to those who have thought differently, and still more perhaps e midi.

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to those who have doubted. I should scarcely CHA! hefitate to call the whole together decifive. For had the return of the Heracleids preceded the times in which Homer flourished, is it conceivable that, among fubjects which so naturally led to the mention of it; he should never once have alluded to fo great an event, by which to total a change was made of the principal families, and indeed of the whole population of Peloponnesus, and of all the western coast of Afia Minor with the adjacent islands? His geography of Peloponnesus is so minute and so exact, that Strabo has chosen to follow him step by step for the purpose of tracing, from remotest antiquity, a complete account of that peninfula. That in fo particular a description of the country, before the Dorian conquest, he should have been fo correct that no fubfequent inquiry could convict him of any error as, and yet that he should not take the least notice of any of the great changes in the property, the government, and the partition of the country which that revolution produced, if he had lived to fee them, is not eafily imaginable. How naturally, upon

raise of choice of healt stoulary, of it at thes. 28 Ta M di sara vin Ediada nai roj; oungyo; révous nai dias στριήγως ίξισητοχύσες, σολυτρόρωνα μια το Θίσθης λίγοιλα, 'Αλίαρτος δι σοιήτετα, Ισχατόωσαι δι 'Αιθηδόια, Αίλαιαι δι συγής επί Κηφισσόιο καὶ ουδιμίαι σροσθήκη, κινός αποξείτθιι». Strab. l. 1. p. 16.
Δίγω δι τώυτα συμτάλλων τά το τον καὶ τὰ ἐφ' Ομήρου λιγόμενα. draften grap ailigerafjordar varra bellireit, dia vir vou worgvou defar nal συθροφίου mple huise, τότε voulforres trasco narescoustas την שמקסטסמי שום שוביים לבי מול מולים מולים מולים לבים לבים בים מולים שובים שובי कार्म प्रमें क्योंकि प्रेर्नाइ. किंड की पर्व पर कार्व प्राप्तान, सबी पर्व काराप्ता, wajariSirra; io ocor wporinei wpoononis. Strabo, 1. 7. p. 337.

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many occasions; would some such pathetic obfervation have occurred concerning the Pelopid, the Neleid, and other families, as that which in his catalogue in the Iliad he makes upon the catastrophe of the royal family of Ætolia"! How naturally too, especially as he mentions the wars of Hercules both in Greece and in Afia, would fome compliment have fallen to the descendants of that hero, had they been in his time lords of Peloponnesus instead of exiles on the mountains of Doris; and how almost unavoidable, from an inhabitant of Chios, some notice of the acquifitions of the posterity of Agamemnon and Neftor in Æolis and Ionia, had he lived after the Æolic and Ionic migrations? Such subjects being open to him for compliment to all the princes both of the Pelonid and Heracleid families, would he have neglected all, and paid particular attention only to the extinct family of Eneas, the enemy of his nation? With these strong circumstances many others meet. To complete the evidence which the poet himfelf furnishes concerning the time in which he lived, we must add his ignorance of idolatry, of hero-worship, of republics, of tyrannies, of a general name for the Greek ination, and of its division into Ionian, Æolian, and Dorian: we must add the form of worship which he describes, without temples as without

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^{&#}x27;Ou' hệ lờ durês muy Bán di Laudés Malmages. To (Sinti) & ini was britadto asaccium 'Artudium. Hind. 1. 20 7. 645 and

images: we must add the little fame of gracles, CHAP. and his filence concerning the council of Amphictyons: we must add his familiar knowlege of Sidon, and his filence concerning Tyre: and lastly we may add the loss of his works in Peloponnesus, whose new inhabitants had comparatively little interest in them, and their prefervation among the colonifts in Afia, who reckoned his principal heroes among their anceftors. All these circumstances together appear to amount almost to conviction that Homer lived before the return of the Heracleids 30,

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so In a late anonymous publication, intitled Critical Observations on Books antient and modern, in which much learning is difplayed, Mr. Wood's opinion concerning the age of Horner been violently controverted, and the author has endeavou prove that the great poet lived fill later than has been generally Supposed. I have considered his arguments with attenti cannot fee any force in any of them. He afferts (1) that the are fuch internal tellimonies in Homer's poems of refinement fland in direct contradiction to the roughness of his and prove that either the one or the other could not be the real fate of his own times.' But Mr. Wood, who had conversed extensively in the East, knew that what thus appear contradictions to a learned Englishman thinking in his closet, are not incompatible there. ' Pope,' the learned critic continues, s has ' justly observed that Homer's invocation Harts & white dies also " our, book to Buss. (2) shows that he lived long after the fiege of Troy.' Thucydides, incomparably a greater authority than Pope, has faid nearly the fame thing: but the question still remains, What is long? Perhaps the out in Thus might be not unreasonably taken to imply that the poet's birth was so near the time of the Trojan war that, in his old age, if he had not declared the contrary, it might have been imagined that he pretended to know the events he describes from having been a party concerned; for it is little usual to contradict what could not be supposed. The proofs endeavoured to be drawn from Paterculus and ArifArrivo. All together afford also strong proof that the

totle, and from the mention of the Gygazan lake, have not more precition. That from the word Bastapopurus (3), is at variance with what follows about the names Miletus and Mycale (4). The learned critic has very much overhaltily quoted Strabo as afferting that 'Miletus was at foonest built by Codrus, a hundred vears after the taking of Troy (5).' Strabo indeed fays, that Neleus, who according to other authors, was fon of Codrus founded Miletus, Milasho larios (6): but it appears from two other pallages of Strabo himfelf that an older town of the fame e, and near the same spot, had its origin from a colony of Cretans under Sarpedon, brother of Minos (7), and Paulanias bears corresponding testimony (8). 'Again,' says the author of the Critical Observations, 'the mention made in the Odyssee of various articles of luxury and elegance betrays a later age than is " usually assigned to the poet, and shows that he must have lived in more civilized times than can be confiltent with the rough and simple manners which he feigns.' I think not. Arts flowed in Egypt and Phenicia before Homer's age; but nothing in his works implies that Greece was in his time confiderably advanced either in arts or in civilization beyond the times of his principal sheroes. Two circumfrances only mark some little advancement; and but little. The trampet, as appears from a simile, was known to him, the never mentioned as in use in the times which he describes. From two similies it should feem also that horsemanship was improved. I believe another instance cannot be produced. But the learned critic continues, 'That most curious * machine the formation of the Greek tongue in its feyeral tenfes, at cases, and numbers, was all perfect and complete when Homer wrote.-It was impossible for his language to have arrived at that fummit of excellence to which little improvement or addition was made afterward, unless the speakers were also arrived near the summit of social life and civil government. learned critic feems not sufficiently to have adverted to the common and known progress of languages. They are often found most complex in barbarous times, and simplify with the progress of civilization. The Anglesaxon had cases and a dual number, which it lost before the mixture of Norman French had formed our present language; and the Greek dual is scarcely seen but in

⁽⁵⁾ p. 42. (4) p. 67. (5) p. 67. (6) Steb L 14. p. 632. (7) Strab I. 14. p. 573 & 634. (8) I. 7. c. 3. g (4)

editors of the Rhapfedies found them genuine, CHARA and gave them for the world to and at mailrease

After Homer is a long interval to our next authorities for Grecian history. Pindar and Æschylus afford assistance; but they lived too late to mite in any great degree the character of historian with that of poet 12 Following poets are of course still inferior historical authority. Herodotus, therefore, the oldest Grecian profeperiod, how every we gain, by a firbing concur-

the older authors. But the general form and character of every language become fixt in harbarous ages beyond the power of learning to alter. Those of the Greek were indeed wonderfully happy; but had they not been fo delivered down from times of darkness, all the philosophy of the brightest ages could not have

added a number, a tenfe, or cafe.

It has not been the purpose here to give a differtation on the age of Homer, in which every objection that ingenious criticism night flart should be discussed, but meerly to state the principal grounds of an opinion resulting from more reading and more consideration on the subject than many are willing to bestow upon it. I have understood that a passage in the fifth book of the Ill. has been supposed to make strongly against me. It is there faid that Dinmed took a stone which two men, such as mortals now are, could not earry. It appears to me that whatever objection might be drawn from this paffage is already answered in the beginning of the second section of the second chapter of this his tory. If more is wanted, I would beg to refer the reader to Neftor's affertions, in various parts of the Iliad, of the superiority of those who hourished in his youth, to Diomed or any others, the cotemporaries of his old age.

32 Tho not more than three or four publications in Grecian profe of earlier date than the works of Pindar and Æschylus acquired any reputation, yet already in their time the Acres, profewriter, appears to have been familiarly known as a person capable of trafmitting facts to posterity, as well as the 'Audor, poet:

Опо विकास कार्यक कार्यक विकास कार्यक विकास कार्यक विकास कार्यक क - OTIO BOURPOTON auxque de as Kai Anyiors nai Andoise School Sade and Sugar and 198 Pindar Pyth. R. S.

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Arranto author whose works remain to us, and who, according to his own probable affection, as we have already observed, was four hundred years later than the great poet, may be called the nest historian. Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Strabe, Plutarch, and Paufaniss, who is diffe. rent ages invelligated the antiquities of their country, all fulficiently inform us what uncers? tain authorities intervened. Early in this dark period, however, we gain, by a strong concurrence of tellimony, one remarkable point, the Olympiad in which Corcebus won in the fit dion, from which the Olympiads were reckoned numerically, and which was therefore always called the first Olympiad. But unfortunately we are not with any certainty informed what principal characters were cotemporary, or even nearly cotemporary, with Corcebus. Not only therefore the preceding times, till we meet Homer's chronology, or, which is nearly the fame thing, to the return of the Heracleids, remained to be gathered from genealogies, but for the most part, the subsequent also till near the time of the Persian invasion. In the come putation by genealogies, exclusively of its inherent inaccuracy, great difficulties occur. We'n the fuccession of Lacedemonian kings, which should be our best guide, is not transmitted to us with certain correctness; and when we'recollect the variety of opinions of antient write ters, or those reported by Plutarch alone, cone cerning the age of so very remarkable a personage as the lawgiver Lycurgus, the pretentions -u-Monof

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ne fol ant eq aumber of yours appear utterly abfurd. The terms attributed to the perpetual archons of Athera are not better founded; and the reasons? given by Sir Isac Newton for supposing that the steven decennial archons did not complete seventy years, are cogent. Of the annual archons who followed, accounts are very deficient. Probably as their first establishmens written registrant were not keps: for, as we are well as fured that the laws of Athera were never committed to writing till the archonship of Drace, it is not likely that letters were applied much season to public purposes of inferior importance. Letters became common, and chronology acquired accuracy, about the same time; not long before the Persan invasion.

The first Olympiad, however, that in which corcebus won, is of universally acknowledged date seven hundred and seventy-fit years before the Christian era. To this point Sir Isaac New-1 tonuand all sollowing chronologers agree 3. The actum of the Heracleids happened eighty years after the Trojan war. This affertion of the

De de not underfished the accufation of an ingenious, but ver hement oppoler of Sir I face Newton's chronology, that Newton affects a wilful forgery to have been made in the Olympic catalogue be facts Olympiads which had no real existence (n). On the contrary, Nowton admits all the Olympiads of the catalogue, from Corcebus downward; and before Corcebus, if any Olympiads were deliberated, we are well assured that no catalogue was leept.

⁽¹⁾ Differention on the Chronology of the Olympiads, by Dr. S. Mugrave.

HISTORY OF GREECE

Assess. inquistive and judicious Thucydides has also ound univerfal acquiefcence. The two great defiderate then of Grecian chronology are to know what principal persons were cotemporary with Corcebus, and to trace the generations from his age upward to the return of the Hera-cleids. If these could be obtained, we should have a tolerably accurate chronology as far as Homer's genealogies will carry us ; and beyond them, however curiofity may be incited, the fruit of inquiry will scarcely pay the labor.
Our principal information concerning the

Olympiads is from Paulanias, who lived late, but was a diligent and a candid antiquarian. He travelled through Greece after the middle of the second century of the Christian era, and it appears that he examined the Olympian register on the spot. He says that the Olympiade might be traced back regularly to that in which Coreebus won in the foot-race; but that even tradition, concerning any regular and periodical belebration of the games, went no farther. It is firongly implied, by his expressions, that the written register of the Olympian victors was not fo old as Corcebus, but that the account of the first Olympiads had been kept by memory only 4. Indeed it appears certain, from all

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memorials

[&]quot;Et to ple to empt); val, somet in mit Commisses in (1), is Paulanias's expression concerning the authority of the first Olympiats of the chalogue, beginning with the victory of Corocbus. With regard to later times, he finals in plain terms of a written register.

memorials of the best authority, that writing CHAP. was not common in Greece fo early. We are ant affined that Corcebus was cotemporary with Iphitus, yet it appears probable. On the authority of a passage of Phlegon preserved by Eufebius, but wholly unsupported by older authors the chronologers confidently flate twenty-eight Olympiads between the establishment of the festival by Iphitus, and the victory of Corcebus under another Iphitus. Paufanias evidently had no idea of fuch an interval. Strabo's account ftill more remarkably contradicts the fupposition. He affirms that the Ætolians, who under Oxylus came into Peloponnesus with the Heracleids, were Strab. 1. the inventors of the Olympian games, and 8. p. 354celebrated the first Olympiads. After then mentioning traditions concerning the prior effabliffement of the festival as fabulous and unworthy of credit, he speaks of that as the first Olympiad in which Corcebus won. So far from giving the least countenance to the supposition that two or three centuries intervened between the return of the Heracleids and the victory of Corcebus, it is rather implied by his expressions in that passage that Corcebus was cotemporary

with Oxylus. This however is not affirmed. and in another place Iphitus is mentioned as founder of the festival: but other authors must be reforted to for authority even for that short interval which Newton has supposed between Oxylus and Corcebus. With Newton; theresoft or of the Tallet and that they was Ve-

covered

5. C. 4.

APPEND. fore, I have no scruple to strike from my chronology that period of above a century which has been imagined between Iphitus and Corcebus. Iphitus, according to Paufanias, was de-Paufan I. fcended from Oxylus, but in what degree that antiquarian could not learn; there were even contradictory testimonies among the antient inscriptions and memorials of the Eleians themfelves concerning his father's name. Newton, deducing collateral proof from another passage of Paufanias, supposes him grandson of Oxylus, and places the Olympiad in which Corcebus won under his prefidency, only fiftytwo years after the return of the Heracleids. Blair places Iphitus two hundred and twenty, and Freret supposes him two hundred and eighty-three years later than that event; and both maintain the farther interval of one hundred and eight years between his institution of the Olymgian games and that called the first Olympiad. If we fearch history to know what occurrences filled this long interval, we find none: nothing in the least to contradict Newton's supposition that only fifty-two years, instead of three hundred and twenty-eight according to Blair, or three hundred and ninetyfive according to Freret, passed between the return of the Heracleids and the Olympiad in

Paufan. 1. 5. c. 8.

which Corcebus won, except an account from Paulanias of what was not done. That antiquarian relates that games, after the manner of the Homeric age, were fo long neglected, that even memory of them failed; and that they were recovered

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covered but by flow degrees after the time of CHAP. Corcebus. I know nothing elfe of equal or almost of any authority to direct opinion between Sir Ifaac Newton's conjecture, and computations fo utterly unsupported by history as those adopted by Blair, or made by Freret: computations, as appears to me, virtually contradicted by Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, and Ariftotle, and evidently difbelieved by Strabo, Plutareh, and Pausanias. Not only they are utterly irreconcilable to the history, imperfect enough indeed itself, which remains of those times; but, to strain even genealogy to any kind of accommodation with them, it has been necessary to add a supposition, utterly unsupported by the authors above-mentioned, that there were two extraordinary personages kings of Elis of the name of Iphitus, two extraordinary personages of the name of Lycurgus legis: lators of Sparta, and fo of many others who. at the distance of from one to two centuries one from the other, bore the same name, did the fame or fimilar things, and acquired the fame reputation.

The inquiry then, such as I have been able to make, on this dark and intricate subject, leads me to the following conclusions. I have not the least difficulty, with Newton, to reject, as fictitious, that personage whom chronologers have inferted in their catalogue of kings of Crete by the name of the first Minos; because his existence not only is unwarranted, but contradicted by what remains from Hefiod. T 2

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See note 25. chap. 1. fec. 3. of this hift.

Newton's Chronology, p. 137.

AFFEND. Heffod, Homer, Herodorus, Thucydides, Plato. Aristotle, and Strabo, concerning the only Minos whom those authors appear to have known 35. With scarcely more doubt and upon fimilar grounds I join in the rejection of Erichthonius, together with the fecond Cecrops and the second Pandion, from the lift of kings of Athens. I cannot, however, hold with the great philosopher that Gelanor king of Argos, and Danaus the leader of the Egyptian colony, were cotemporary with Burytheus, king of Mycenze; because the supposition is not only unsupported, but contradicted by testimony equal to any concerning those times; indeed by the whole tenor of early historical tradition. 'We come next to the period which Homer has illuftrated; and concerning this, confidered by itself, the difference among authors has been comparatively none. In proceeding then to the dark ages which follow, I have no doubt in thortening the period from the return of the Heracleids to the inflitution of the Olympian festival by Iphitus. The number of years that passed can be calculated only upon conjectural grounds; but Newton's conjecture, if not perfectly unexceptionable, appears so far the most probable as it is most consistent with historical tradition, and

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³³ Diodorus Siculus, in his fourth book, (c. 62.) mentions two kings of Crete of the name of Minos. But the traditions of the Cretans themselves, reported in his 6fth book, (c. 79.) effectually contradict the existence of more than the one celebrated personage of that name, acknowleged by the writers mentioned in the text. The series are very last the series of the

even with what I hold to be the best chrono- CHAP. logical authorities, those of Strabo and Paufanias. For the period then of a hundred and eight years, between the inflitution of the feftival by Iphitus and the first Olympiad, or that in which Corcebus won, I look upon it as meerly imaginary; its existence being strongly contradicted by Strabo and Paulanias, and Jupported by no comparable authority. I am less able to determine my belief concerning the dates of the Messenian wars; nor can I satisfy myself concerning those of Attic or Corinthian history. In the former cases the business was only to detect falfehood; here we have the nicer talk to ascertain truth. Upon the whole, however, Newton appears to have strong reafon on his fide throughout. He feems, indeed, to have allowed too little interval between the legislation of Draco and that of Solon; and perhaps this is not the only instance in which his fhortening fystem has been carried rather to an extreme: but where centuries are in dif-

few years. It would be of fome importance, if it were possible, to determine the age of that

who established a standard for the weights and measures used over the whole peninsula, and who, as head of the Heracleid families, and legal heir of Hercules, claimed, and by the prevalence of his power assumed, the presi-

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remarkable tyrant of Argos, Pheidon, the most Herodot. powerful Grecian prince of his time, the first Strab. 1. who coined filver in Peloponnesus, the first 8. p. 355.

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6. C. 32.

Strab. 1.

8. p. 355. Herodot.

dency of the Olympian festival. This last circumstance, were the Olympian register perfect, should have put his age beyond question; yet authors who poffeffed the best means of information are not to be reconciled concerning it. Pausanias says that Pheidon presided in the Paufan. 1. eighth Olympiad. But, according to Strabo, the Eleians prefided without interruption to the twenty-fixth; and, if the copies of Hero-1.6. C.127. dotus are faithful, Pheidon must have lived toward the fiftieth Olympiad, where Newton would fix him. But the copies of Herodotus are not without appearance of defect where Pheidon is mentioned. The chronologers have been defirous of imputing error to those of Strabo, which affert that Pheidon was tenth in descent from Temenus: they would have him but tenth from Hercules; and thus they would make Strabo agree with Paufanias and with the marbles. But this does not complete their business; for Strabo will still contradict the presidency of Pheidon in the eighth Olympiad. Moreover that writer, as his copies now Rand, is confistent with himself; and, upon Newton's fystem, confistent with Herodorus. It can fcarcely be faid that Paufanias, as his copies ftand, is confistent with himself; at least he is very deficient when it was clearly his defire to give full information. I am therefore inclined, with Newton, to suppose an error in the date which stands assigned, as on his authority, for the prefidency of Pheidon. But when precifely Pheidon did prefide, it should feem even Strabo could

he would probably have named the Olympiad, and not have dated merely by the pedigree. That ready method, used by the Greek chronologies, but greatly improved by the modern, for accommodating chronological difficulties by the supposition of two or more persons of the same name in the same situation, and sometimes of the same character and the same same, in different ages, has been employed to adjust the age of Pheidon, with the success which cannot fail to attend it; but we find no historical authority for the existence of more than one king of Argos of that name.

Having so far then risked the declaration of my own opinion, I shall not however presume to impose it upon the reader in any instance. I shall continue to insert in the margin Dr. Blair's dates together with Sir Isaac Newton's, after having thus given the best preparatory assistance in my power to direct the choice between them; forry that I cannot better satisfy either my readers or myself. Some farther observations will occasionally occur in the sequel.

One circumstance more, however, it may be proper to advert to here. The period of the Grecian sestivals being regulated by the revolutions of the moon, the time of those sestivals, compared with the solar year, would vary, like the time of Easter and the other moveable feasts of the Christian church. But the Olympian sestival ordinarily falling within our month of July, the Olympian year divided our year

APPEX.

nearly in the middle. When we come to times of more exact chronology, this will be a circumffance to require attention. For the ages with which we have been hitherto, and shall for some space continue to be ingaged, it is of little importance, language and bommoons and by the flippedition of two or more pelicing of the fame name; in the lawe il usuon, and fombtimes of the fame character and the lame same, in different ages, has been employed to adjust the age of Pheiden, with the for chi which cannot full to attend it; but we find as luffe. rical authority for the entitence of mert than one king of Argos of that name. a Herang, to the fire rifleed the declaration of my own oranion, I shall not however prefume to impose it upon the reader in any influence. I thall continue to infer in ste margin Dr. AAH Pares toguther with Sir Ilaac Newton's, after having thus given the belt preparatory affiliance in my power to direct the choice between, thems forry that I cannot better facility either my readers or my felt.' Some firther obfervations will occape anally occur in the requely, One circumflance more, however, it was be proper to saver to here. The prince of the ! Greeign fostivals being regulated by the revointions of the moon, the time of those fellivals, compared with the folar year, would year, like the time of Eafter and the other movedale feafts of the Christian cliurch. But the Olympian feltival codingsly falling within our month of July, the Olympian your divided our year nearly

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cial united of the applicate and full more the union in clidion, which formed the molt powerful bond. Harough all care Chain history

Thorn to vio CHAPTER IV.

other national like a river that from various History of the fouthern Provinces of GREECE. from the Return of the HERACUEIDS to the Conquest of MESSENIA by the LAthat gave & new people to sus Animaman to of the country, and a general turn to its affairs;

in confequence of which they affumed those channels in whilh MOITOBEafter mortly fee

Recapitulation of Events in Greece. General Change of Governments from Monarchal to Republican. Different Kinds of Government diftinguished by the Greeks.

political imminents the country at large, had TE have now taken a view, fuch as re-V maining memorials afford means for, of the first population of Greece, and the rise of its principal cities: we have feen one common war profecuted by a league of the chiefs of the different states, under a prince acknowleged superior to the reft: we have remarked a great revolution, that changed the inhabitants and the government of the fouthern part of the country, checked the progress of arts and civilization, and established new divisions of the Grecian people. We have then traced the growth of thee fingular institutions, which renewed and strengthened the political and so-203 cial

cial union of the nation, and still more the union in religion, which formed the most powerful bond. Through all ages Grecian history runs in various streams, here meeting, there separating, and never, as the history of most other nations, like a river that from various fources hath collected its waters, uniting into one ample unbroken flood. But the return of the Heracleids was the last great revolution that gave a new people to any large proportion of the country, and a general turn to its affairs; in confequence of which they assumed those channels in which we shall hereafter mostly see them flow.

A general revolution, indeed, but of a very different kind, followed shortly; a revolution of each state within itself; which, without making immediately any fenfible change in the political fituation of the country at large, had yet confequences of highest importance. We have observed that the governments of the little states of Greece in the first ages, tho of no very regular and certain conflitution, were all limited monarchies. Homer feems to have known no other: he mentions neither a pure republic, nor the absolute rule of one man. When, therefore, the Heracleids possessed themselves of Peloponnesus, they established every-160cr. Pa- where that hereditary limited monarchy which was the only government affimilated to the ideas and temper of their age. The disposition toward a union of the whole stion into one kingdom under the powerful monarchs of Ar-

Plat. de Leg. 1. 3. nath. p. 504. t. 2.

gos,

gos, which had appeared before the Trojan SECT war, was checked by the extensive calamities and confusion which followed that expedition, and still more by the equality established among the Heracleid princes in Peloponnesus; and it was foon after finally diffipated through the opposite bias which the politics of the country univerfally affumed. Those vigorous principles of democracy, which had always existed in the Grecian governments, began to ferment; and, in the course of a few ages, monarchy was everywhere abolished; the very name of king was very generally profcribed; a commonwealth was thought the only government to which it became men to fubmit; and the term of Tyrant was introduced to denote those who, in opposition to these new political principles, acquired monarchal fway. We are very deficient of means to trace this remarkable revolution among fo many independent little states: yet enough remains whence to gather a general idea of the rife of that political fystem which obtained in ages better known; and, for the particular history of every commonwealth, it has been transmitted more or less perfect, nearly in proportion to the importance of each among the concerns of the nation.

With the inftitutions already described, so beneficially uniting the discordant parts into which the Greek nation was divided, two circumstances, not of beneficial tendency, principally cooperated to determine the general character of Grecian politics: these were, the small-

CHAP.

fmallness of the several communities constituting separate and independent states; and, amid the warmest zeal for the highest political liberty, the universal, and universally approved establishment of personal and domestic slavery.

The narrowness of the territory of every Grecian state, the want of a controling power extending with fufficient authority over all, together with the restless and warlike disposition of the people, made it generally impossible to cultivate, with reasonable hope of injoyment, any land far from a fortified town. Of every fortified town, in the poverty of governments, and non-existence of taxes, the owners of the neighbouring fields must be the garrison; and for these persons, thus always uniting the civil and military character, some municipal administration, adapted to both, would be indifpenfable. The questions would then arise, What should be the relation of this government to that of the capital? What should be their common, and what their separate rights? Under monarchal supremacy the adjustment would be easier: for, each town preserving its municipal polity, the prince's superintending authority, his military command, his prefidency over the religion of the state, and his power in general to direct the executive government, would be as willingly acknowleded by the inferior towns as by the capital. But, after the abolition of monarchy, the people of the capital generally claimed that fovereinty over the people of the inferior towns, which the kings had Allama?

had before held; a fovereinty, in their hands, sect. unavoidably invidious, and likely to be oppreffive; because the interests of the parties were, in many points, distinct, in some opposite. The people, therefore, of the inferior towns. having arms in their hands, and walls to protect them, and often means for obtaining allies to affift them, feldom failed to affert independency. In some provinces a federal union was formed. In two only, Attica, through the con-Ititution of Thefeus, and Laconia, through that which we shall find established by Lycurgus, one undivided supreme authority extended over the whole.

Already in that age which Homer has defcribed, flaves were common in Greece; but their proportional numbers were afterward very much increased. Among the many and great political evils incident to the establishment of flavery, one is eminent: flavery precludes community of interest between the higher and lower orders of freemen, the rich and the poor. rich, where flaves abound, can dispense with the labor of the poor; and the poor profit in no way from the prosperity of the rich: an interference of interest almost alone leads to any intercourse between them. The consequences we shall find forming one of the most prominent features of the infuing history.

The division of Greece then into little states unnumbered, the variety of political customs naturally ariting among them, even while monarchs prefided, the various changes that took place,

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Ariftot. Polit.

CHAP. place, according to circumstances, upon the abolition of monarchy, the continual ftruggles, afterward, of discordant interests among the people, and frequent revolutions infuing, gave occasion to various distinctions and definitions of governments, which were afterward, with more or less accuracy, adopted by the Romans, and from them have been received into all the languages of modern Europe. The Greeks distinguished, at least in theory, fix simple forms: four legal and admitted; two not of acknowleged legality, but generally supported by violence. The legal were Monarchy, Oligarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy: the illelegal, Tyranny, and Assumed or Tyrannical Oligarchy.

place,

Homer. paffim. Thucyd. l. 1. c. 13. Polyb. l. 6. p. 455. Aristot. Polit. 1. 3. C. 1 & 14. Dionyf. Halic. Antiq. Rom. 1. 5. Aristot. C. 14.

But absolute Monarchy, as we have already observed, was unknown among the Greeks as a legal constitution. The title of King therefore implied, with them as with us, not a Right of Absolute Power, but a Legal Superiority of Dignity and Authority in One person above all others of the state, and for their benefit'. The peculiar and most indispensable rights of Royalty were religious Supremacy and Military Polit. 1. 3. Command. In the early ages Kings also commonly exercifed Judicial Authority. But Legislation seems never to have been regularly within their fingle prerogative. After the general

abolition

Erymouisou yap ardioc hos is ross account hapiporros, Baoshila as adolis, a. T. s. Accordingly he calls his republic Baronauouing molis. De rep. 1. 9. p. 576. เราะพ อกร

abolition of Monarchy in Greece, if a Citizen SECT. of a Commonwealth through whatfoever means, acquired Monarchal Power, his government was intitled TYRANNY, and himfelf TYRANT: names which feem not to have been originally Com. terms of reproach; the fuch monarchy was Mep. vit. generally very deservedly reprobated.

A distinction of families into those of Higher and Lower Rank, appears to have obtained very early throughout Greece; and nowhere more than at Athens, where, by the constitution of Theseus, the EUPATRIDS, or NOBLY Diodor. Born, like the Patricians of Rome, formed a c. 28. distinct order of the state, with great privileges 4. Phut. vit. With the downfall of Monarchy, however, Hereditary Nobility feems to have declined everywhere; and tho Family was always confidered, yet Wealth became the principal criterion of Rank. But daily experience, among the Greeks, proving that Military Force may always command Civil Authority, the two were, in all their republics, united in the same perfons; every citizen being bound to Military Service. Equally then the necessity of the commonwealth and the choice of the individual would decide that the rich should serve on Herod. I. horseback; and thus was created, in the prin- 8. c. 124. cipal republics, a Rank of Citizens determined Eq. a 2. by their ability to serve in War on Horseback Aristot. at their own expence. Such was the origin of c. 3.

Strab. 1. 10. p. 481.

² Aristotle distinguishes the noble by the title of loyeringes. Polit. 1. 4. c. 4. KNIGHTperfons

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CHAP. KNIGHTHOOD in Rome, and fince in the feudal kingdoms of Europe. In many Grecian Rates however, the noble, or the rich, or both topether, held exclusively the principal authority; and the government was then denominated OLIGARCHY; meaning a government in which Mained, the supreme power is vested in a Few. Where the Few, as they became emphatically called, remained contented with the prerogatives of the antient hereditary kings, leaving rights to the people, so established as to secure an impartial administration of equal law, it was deemed a just and Constitutional Oligarchy But where contests arising, as it often happened, between the Few and the Many (which became the distinguishing appellation of the lower people) and the Few obtained the fuperiority not without a violent, and perhaps a bloody struggle, they would not always, and fometimes could not fafely, be moderate in the exercise of power. Thus arose Tyrannical Oligarchy. in all cheir republics inness in

ARISTOCRACY, fignifying government by the Better people, was a phrase of more dubious import, inalmuch as the question would always remain, Who were the better people? The Few, whether legally, or by violence, or not at all established in power, commonly assumed the title to themselves '; and gave that of Aristocracy to any government in which they, or

Kahol xayaboi. LNICHT-

[&]quot;Charappia los opes Thucyd. L. g. c. 65.

persons of their fort, held the principal power. ERCH Among the moderns generally the term of Ariftional Oligarchy, an application of it apparently first proposed by Arthusie, on account of the difference which the frequency of a tyremitted afflumption of power by the Few,
brought upon the name of Oligarchy. But,
both before and after that philosopher, the
term Artifloency was more received, among
the Greeks, as the proper appellation of those
governments in which the fupreme inthority
was committed, by the people themselves, to
perform clothed for their merit; Oligarchy perform elected for their merit; Oligarchy remaining always the fordinary Greaten term for governments in which the table or the richt presided, as a Toperate order of the fate.

presided, as a separate order of the state.

Direct Act signified Government by the Arifot.

People as large, all the Freemen of the state
in assuming the Legal Sovertin, Absorbute.

Luce, and Uncontrolable. But as Damocracy
was beyond all other governments subject to
irregular, improvident, and tyranhical conduct,
where unchacked by some balancing power intrusted to a few, in became distinguished by the
opprobrious acts of Ocurrocracy, Mob-rule.

opprobrions tille of Octanockaev, Mob-rule.

The flaces of Greece whole government was in any degree fattled, and mostly four mixture of two or more of these forms. A simple monarchy, indeed, would be despotiful and tyranny: a simple obligarchy but the tyranny of an individual; and a simple democracy scarcely Vot. I. above

CHAP.

above anarchy; yet those evils we find frequently existing among the Grecian cities. From the various mixture, however, of thefe fimple forms, decided whether by accidental custom or by the various prevalence of various interests, arole new distinctions, and fometimes new names. The mixture of oligarchy and democracy, in which the oligarchal power was superior, yet the democratical sufficed to secure freedom and equal right to the people, might, according to Aristotle, be properly distinguished from timple oligarchy by the more honorable title of Ariflocacy. That mixture where the democratical power prevailed, yet was in fome degree balanced by authority lodged in Readier hands, is diffinguished by the fame great author by the name of Polity; and according to Polybius, is due blending of the three powers, monarchal, ariftocratical, and democratical was necellary to conflictite what might properly be termed a Kingdom

Aristot.
Polit. l. 4.
c. 6 & seq.

Poleb. 1.

It is of importance, in confidering antient, or indeed any forcin politics, to be careful not to be milled, and in treating of them, not to millead, by manes; and if our language wants words to give the procife meaning of Grecian political terms, it will be no matter of wonder to us when we confider that the feveral nations of modern Europe, whose governments have mostly had a common origin, are unable each in its own language to express the political terms of its search neighbours. Thus the Rnglish is without words perfectly synonymous with the French Gentilhomme, Noble, Bourgeois, Roturier; and no forein language can convert with precision our terms Noble, Lord, Commoner, and many others. But in the Greek, beyond most languages, political terms are found of undefined import; because, in the several Grecian republics, often where names were the

It may here perhaps be a digression neither in itself absolutely improper, nor intirely use-less for illustration of the subject before us, to observe that the British Constitution is a composition of All the Legal simple forms acknowleged by the Greeks, Monarchy, Oligarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy. Monarchy with us perfectly accords with the Greelan idea of Kingly government. The Lords form the Oligarchal part of the constitution; and the House of Commons properly the Aristocratical; being composed of persons elected by the People to

fame, things differed. Thus the term Aimor, generally meaning the lower people exclusively of the higher, and commonly not ill translated either by the Latin Plebs, or the English Commonality, in the democratical state of Athens included all the people, noble as well as plebeian. In the time of Isocrates, the term Approximation feems hardly to have been appropriated to any form of government. That writer acknowledges only three simple kinds, Oligarchy, Democracy, Monarchy (1); and he applies the term Ariltocracy as a title of compliment to the Democracy of Athens; diffinguilling it, as a well-constituted Democracy, from those illformed, or unformed governments which might deferve the name of Ochlocracy. Polythus, as may be feen in the beginning of his fixth book, uses the term Arithocracy nearly in the same manner. The term Managela, unqualified, appears always to have fignified Absolute Monarchy; from which Polybius, conformably to Plato's use of the term, diftinguishes limited or balanced Monarchy by the title of Baothela. Plato indeed gives to his republic. in different places, the feveral titles of Banksonin make, Ancresports, and Hoursia. Xenophon, in the beginning of his Agefilaus, enumerates the ordinary forms of government under the titles of Aquapalia, Oloyappia, Topanic, Baothia. The Lacedæmonian government, where royal power was fo excessively limited, is his example of the Barilsia.

(1) Panath. p. 514. ed. Paris. Auger.

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Legif-

CHAP. Legislative Authority for Merit real or suppofed. The Democratical Principle, Equal Law. or, in the Greek term, Isonomy, fingularly pervades the whole; the privileges of the peer extending in no degree to his family, and the defcendants even of the Blood Royal being Pro-PLE, subject to the same laws, the same burdens, and the fame judicature with the meanest citizen. Rights of Election, Trial by Jury, and provincial Offices, together with the Right of Addressing and Petitioning either the executive or any branch of the legislature, form a large Democratical Power, more wifely given, and more wifely bounded, notwithstanding some defects, than in any other government that ever existed .

> The Right of EQUAL LAW, the peculiar boaft of the English constitution, is derived from the Anglosaxon government. It is declared more than once in the Anglofaxon laws yet extant; but never was more emphatically expressed than in a phrase of the laws of Edgar: Ic pille, fays the royal Legislator, speaking with the authority of his Witenayemote, bar wie man pri Folepulver pynd, ze eanme ze eaug. which, notwithflanding the general energy of the English language, can scarcely be rendered in modern terms with equal force. This it was for which our ancestors contended, when, in the reigns of the early Norman princes, they so often and so carnestly demanded the re-floration of the Saxon laws; and this it was that gave origin to the JUDICIUM PARIUM AUT LEGEM TERRE of Magna Charta, which that famous deed has fanctified as the birthright of every Englishman, the FOLKRIGHT of the land.

(1) L. L. Anglofax. D. Wilkins, p. 77. THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERTY AND THE PARTY. Entire content occurs

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SECTION II.

Summary of the Histories of Crete, Argos, the Calaurean confederacy, Corinth, Sicyon, Achaia, Eleia. Arcadia.

WE have feen that, in the large and valuable iland of CRETE, a regular free government, under the prefidency of an hereditary prince. was established almost before Grecian history can be faid to begin. The naval power acquired Minos appears to have funk after him. and the Argian princes gained the superiority in the Grecian feas, together with the fovereinty of the smaller ilands nearest to the continent of Greece. Yet Idomeneus, grandfon of Minos, and commander of the Cretan troops in the Trojan war, was among the most powerful of the Grecian chiefs of his time. We are affured by Homer that this prince was one of the Odyff. 1. few who returned fafe from that expedition: 3. v. 191and no confiderable revolution in Crete feems to have been known either to Homer or Heffod. It must however have been soon after them that monarchy was abolished there. What caused the revolution, or how it was effected, we have no authentic information: but we find the principal cities became separate independent commonwealths. That rigid military education. which the Cretan laws beyond all things inforced, and that military character which pervaded

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Strab. 1. 10. p. 481. the government, feem to have had their origin rather from the necessity of constant caution for holding the numerous flaves in fubjection, than from any view to forein conquest, or even any apprehension of invasion at home. After the abolition of monarchy, its effect was chiefly feen in continual wars between the feveral republics within the iland. Thus however the Cretans preferved, through many ages, their reputation as a Military people. Their Naval Ikill alfo became proverbial; but it was chiefly exerted in piracy: and the the Cretan Laws held their fame, yet the Cretan Character for want of probity became infamous; nor ever, after the Trojan war, was Crete of any confiderable weight in the scale of Grecian politics 'maioro all at

Of the states on the continent of Greece. Ar cos was among the first to abolish monarchy or, however, fo to reduce its powers that we hardly perceive among historians whether it existed or no. The Argian government is faid Paufan. 1. to have become republican fo early as on the death of Ceifus, fon of Temenus the Heracleid.

But

Kens and Aryuntus feems to have been an early proverb of nearly the same import as our English Set a thief to catch a thief. Polybius, in the fourth, and still more particularly in the fixth book of his history, speaks strongly to the infamy of the Cretan character, and even denies all merit to the Cretan laws and conflitution; which were probably in his time much altered from what, as he fays, the ableft of the elder writers, Ephorus, Xenophon, Callifthenes, and Plato, held in high effects. The change indeed is particularly remarked by Strabo: The Marie Kinene δμολυγίται ότι κατά τιὺς παλαιού: χίδνους Ιτύγχανικ Ιυνομουμών. καί ζηλωτάς δαυτής τους άξιςους των Ελλήνων απέφηνεν. N wpo; to zewo urrebales int whiles. Strab. 1. 10. p. 477.

But neither was Argos fortunate in the change. We have indeed no very particular account of either the conflitution or the transactions of the Argian commonwealth; but we find it subject to frequent and violent diforders. The higher and lower ranks were continually at variance the democratical faction was mostly superior: the priesthood had peculiar authority: fometimes tyrants raised themselves overall: once the flaves, Herodot, got possession of the city, and filled the magistracies. The Argian appears to have been originally an ill-constituted government; and no legislator of superior wisdom and probity ever acquired the power, no fortunate train of circumfrances ever occurred of themselves, to unite liberty and administration upon a firm and even basis. One famous tyrant, Pheidon, lineal fuc- Herod. I. ceffor of the Heracleids, a prince of great abili- 6. c, 127. Strab. 1. ties but no moderation, raised himself, rather 8. p. 358, than his country, to a superiority which ceased Pausan. 1. 6. c. 22. with him Under its republican government, impotent abroad as unhappy at home, Argos fia nally toft that preëminence which under monarchal rule it had obtained among the Grecian flates. Far from leading the affairs of Peloponnefus, every tittle town of Argolis itself refifted the Argian dominion: Mycenæ long afferted independency: Asinæa, and even Nauplia, the immediate feaport of Argos, were preferved Strab. 1. only by expulsion of the inhabitants: Hermione, Paufan. 1. Træzen, Epidaurus, Phlius, Sicyon, and the 14. c. 24. iland of Ægina, members of the Argian state under the Heracleid kings, but early separated

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after the abolition of hereditary first-magistracy, always maintained themselves as self-governed republics. Cynuria, Thyrea, and Prafiæ were conquered by Lacedamon.

It was probably the oppression of the Argian government, and the consequent defection of To many towns, members of the Argolic kingdom, that gave occasion to an institution, which, tho we find it mentioned by Strabo alone among antient writers, and by him but flightly and in passing, is yet for its kind so important, that it must not be left unnoticed. In the little iland of Calaurea, at the mouth of the harbour of Træzen, was held what the geographer calls a fort of Amphictyonic council . Calaurea was facred to Neptune, whose temple there was among the most venerated and inviolable fanctuaries of Greece: a commodious place of meeting therefore for the councils of the oppreffed. The assembly was composed of deputies from the revolted Argian cities, Hermione, Epidaurus, Ægina, Nauplia, and Prafiæ; but to these we find added Athens and the Minveian Orchomenus, a title by which Orchomenus in Bœotia was diftinguished from the town of the fame name in Arcadia. Of the purpos of this meeting and of its transactions, farther than a common facrifice to the God, we have no direct information; but a common facrifice implied some political connection, a defensive alliance at least, between the cities in whose name Distriction in Alada, but was determined to the track

^{*} Анфитиніа ти, Strab. 1. 8. р. 374.

and for whose welfare it was offered. It seems SECT. indeed not dubious that, the the oftenfible ceremonies of the meeting were principally religious, the ultimate object was political, and that the inflitution had confiderable political importance. It contributed probably not a little to establish the independency of the revolted Argian towns. How Athens became ingaged in this confederacy we are not informed, but we may with fome probability conjecture: the wars in confequence of which the Dorian town of Megara was founded within the bounds of the antient Attica, would incite the Athenians to take an interest in the troubles of Peloponnesus, and particularly of Argos, then the leading city. Any ground for the connection with the Boeotian Orchomenus is less obvious: a is to vanished the beautiful addition

But when the independency of the revolted Argian towns was established, and a connection formed with the powerful state of Athens, and with Orchomenus, perhaps the ally of Athens, the confederacy would in its turn be formidable to Argos; and thus, apparently it became an object for Argos itself to be a member of that league which had been originally formed for the purpose of resisting its power. The opportunity offered, when Nauplia was taken and its people were expelled by the Argians. Whether the Nauplians were become obnoxious, and the Argians had ingratiated themselves, or whether the fear only of an overbearing power decided the allied cities, the claim arm mis

CHAP.

claim of Argos to fend representatives for Nauplia to the Calaurean council was allowed, and Argos thus became a member of the confederacy. A fimilar policy appears to have prompted the Lacedæmonians: having reduced Prasiæ under their dominion, or received it into their protection, they claimed to send representatives for that town, and Lacedæmon was added to the Calaurean league.

But this accession of the greater Grecian republics, instead of giving permanent splendor and importance to the Calaurean council, feems to have been the immediate cause of its finking into infignificancy. While the purpose was to maintain a league among the Argolic towns for general defence, the council was equal to its object, and for its object respectable. But when, by the allowed independency of those towns, this object vanished, to regulate the jarring interests of Athens, Argos, and Lacedamon, which should have succeeded as the business of the meeting, was what those states would scarcely submit to the votes of deputies from the little cities of Epidaurus, Hermione, Ægina and Orchomenus: The political bufiness of the affembly therefore ceafed, and the importance attached to the religious geremonies alone feems to have preferred it from utter oblivion, and L

Among the circumstances of Grecian history, as nothing more marks the general character of the national politics, fo nothing will more deferve the consideration of the modern politician than the various attempts toward federal union among

among the republics, and the inefficacy of those ettempts. This hotice therefore of the Calsurean council, imperfect as it is, and little as that council may again occur to mention, will not be deemed faperfluous. I somolos awo sie

We have already remarked the fortunate fituation of Correct, by which that city became very early the greatest emporium of Greece. It was fortunate also in its constitution, which it is faid to have owed to Pheidon, a prince of Aristot. uncertain age, but who has been supposed near 2, c. 6, ly cotemporary with Lycurgus. Monarchy, the balanced monarchy of early times, flourished there, without violence ar commotion to ingage the notice of history, longer than in any other of the principal Grecian cities, Sicyon alone excepted. At length the Bacchiads (a Paufan. 1. numerous branch of the royal family, fo named olympiad from their ancestor Bacchis, fifth monarch in 30. 3rd fuccession from Aletes) put to death Telestes Besore the reigning prince, and affuming the government in affociation, formed an Oligarchy. But Before ift ftill the laws and the spirit of the old constitu- B. C. tion were in large measure preserved. An annual magistrate presided, with the title of Prytanis, but with very limited prerogatives; and tho oligarchies were generally odious, yet Corinth flourished under the Bacchiads. Syracuse and Coroyra, Corinthian colonies, appear to have been, under their administration, subject to the mother-country. Afterward they acquired independency: but the early power and wealth of both, and still more the friendly congovernnection

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nection of Syracule with the parent flate, remaining through many ages, prove the wildom with which they were fettled. Syracuse requires a history by itself. Corcyra founded early its own colonies Epidamnus and Apollonia in Illyricum. After the Bacchiads had held the Ol. 43.4. administration of Corinth during some generations, they were expelled by Cypselus; who, M. according to the Grecian writers, in his own person restored monarchy, or, as it became popular to phrase it, tyranny; tho, as superior wifdom and virtue alone never were supposed to give a claim to the titles of king or tyrant, it fcarcely appears by what right Cypfelus hore either?. He was in truth the head of a party, by the strength and through the favor of which he ruled. Determined to rest his authority. and even his fafety, wholly on his good deeds and his power of attaching to himself the affections of men, he constantly refused the invidious, but apparently not unusual, distinction of a guard; to protect his person against those attempts of the defeated faction, which, from the common violence of party in Grecian commonwealths, might be enough to be apprehended. But the his virtues, and particularly his moderation and clemency, were emi-

Ariftot. Polit. 1. 5. C. 12.

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Dittle or nothing feems fairly to be gathered from the loofe invective, following a strange romantic story, which Herodotus puts into the mouth of a man pleading with vehemence the cause of a party, Herod. I. 5. c. 92.

nent, he is nevertheless by Grecian writers univerfally called tyrant of Corinth, and his

B. C.

government tyranny. His fon Periander, who fucceeded to his power, is not equally famed for the mildness of his administration; but for his abilities, learning, and munificent incouragement of learned men, was ranked among the fages celebrated by the title of the Seven Wife-men of Greece. Periander was also fueceeded by his fon, whose reign, however, was Ol. 55.4. fhort. A commonwealth was then established: in which enough was retained of the oligarchy to temper the turbulence and capriciousness of Ol. 48.4. democratical rule: and Corinth, tho not the most renowned, was perhaps the happiest government of Greece. The local circumstances of the city appear indeed to have influenced the disposition of the people; directing it to commerce and arts more than to politics, arms, or fcience; tho in these also they acquired their share of fame. They, first among the Greeks, Thucyd. built veffels of that improved construction for war (whose form is now not certainly known) which we commonly diftinguish by the Latin name Triremes; and the first sea-fight recorded Ol. 30.4. in any history was between Corinth and its own colony of Corcyra. The Isthmian games, really a late establishment, tho boasting of great anti- Ol. 20.1. quity, were celebrated within the territory and under the direction of the Corinthians, and brought them confiderable advantages. Luxury indeed was the unfailing attendant upon wealth: but colonization and commerce no less certainly produced naval power; and Corinth, tho never fingly

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fingly formidable, was always respected among the Grecian fintes topi , papor an of tieber the

Of all the cities of Greece, Stevon, reputed the oldest, had the good fortune to remain longest under that mild and fready government, derived from the heroic ages, in which hereditary princes prefided, and fixed laws or customs. venerated for their antiquity, and loved for their proved utility, restrained the extravagant use equally of power in the chiefs and of liberty in the people. So late as the age of Solon this constitution remained in full vigor, when, under Cleifthenes, a prince of fuperior merit,

Artiflot. Polit. L. 5. 0. 13. Ol. 48.4.

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The Pindar's bulinels was panegyric, jet he would panegy-rize upon the best grounds that his subject afforded; and he seems justly to have characterized Corinth in terms of eulogy that would have been but prepofteroufly applied to most of the Greclan cities : tradicalist of anti-sonaid

one the Greeks, Тибория Tar aklian Konson, Iroquier Πρόθυρου Ποσειδώνος, άγλασκουραν. Εν τα γαρ Ευνομία ναιει, πασύγ-PATEL TO Bless Wolfer COLLEGE DODIO ... Acopanie Bailes, sai speand an bue trenos Egasa, rapias promotivi una la Αιδράσι πλόιστου, χρύσται Παιδις ει δούλού Θίμιτος.

Olymp, 13.

Let my lays The fame of happy Corinth hear afar: Which as a gate to Neptune's ifthmus flands, Proud of her blooming youth and manly bands.

There Fair Eunomia, with her fifter-train, Bleft Peace and Justice, hold their fleady reign ; White his Who wealth and fmiling eafe on mortals (how'r, well a part From Themis' genial care drawing their natal hour.

Pye's Translation of the Olympic Odes not translated by West.

The local cincumstances

Sicyon

Sievon flourished fingularly, and even held a flered leading fituation among the Grecian states. It 1.6. was the misfortune of Sievon that Cleifthenes 2. & l. 10. had no fon. His only daughter carried the moveable wealth of the family to Athens, by marriage with Megacles, head of the illustrious house of the Alemaonids there. No chief, of dignity above competition, remaining, Sicyon was torn by contending factions, and, under republican government, importance abroad, and happiness at home, funk together.

ACHAIA remained, during fome generations, Polyb.1.4. united under monarchs, the posterity of Tifa- P. 128. 1. menus fon of Orestes. The tyrannical con- 8. p. 383, duct of Ogygus, the last prince of that race, is faid to have excited his subjects against him, and the twelve principal towns became fo many independent and inconfiderable commonwealths. A federal union was preferved among them, but too imperfect for Achaia to take any important there in the political affairs of Greece, tebenned in this equality in confederations

The very fingular circumstances of ELEIA which in a great degree feeluded its people from politics and war, have been already mencioned. But it was not possible, by any inftitutions, to destroy that elasticity given by the Author of nature to the mind of man, which continually excites to action, often palpably against interest, and which was strong in the general temper of the Greeks. Mostly indeed attached to rural bufiness and rural pleasures, the Eleians confined their ambition to the flatter-

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CHAP. ing preeminence allowed them in the fplendid affembly of principal people from every Gree cita state at the Olympian sestival, and the perhaps yet more flattering respect to which their facted characters was universally holds which was fuch that the armies of angunuft powerful flates of Greece, having occasion to crofs any part of the Eleian territory furren desert their arms on entering, in trust to sective them again when they had palled the forders Yet reftlefs spirits arose, not to be for fet Often the Eleians ingaged as auxiliaries intehe p. 748. Strabi. l wars of other states; generally indeed on pretence of afferting the cause of religion; but in 282 9 13 that cause itself they could not agree among themselves. During some generations, while monarchy sublisted in the posterity of Inhitis Eleia continued united under one government, But at length the spirit of democracy prevaled there as elsewhere in Greece, and with the same effects. Every confiderable town claimed in pendency, or at least equality in confederacy with the rest: Elis afferted authority over all, Olympia became a great object of contention. Sirus ated within the territory of Pifa on the northern bank of the river Alpheius, which alone feparated its precind from that city, the Bi fæans infifted that the right to the guardiantim of the temple and fuperintendancy of the feltival was clearly theirs. The Eleians, on the contrary, claimed it exclusively: wars arose

Herodot. 1.4. c. 148.

Strab. 1. 8. p. 353.

Herodot. l.6. c. 127. Strab. l. 8. p. 358.

between the two states: each endeavoured to gain allies; and at one time Pheidon, the pow-

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erful tyrant of Argos, interfering, affumed to SECT. himself, as hereditary representative of Hercules, the guardianthip of the temple, and prefidency of the festival. At other times the Pi- Strab. I. frans prevailed, and they prefided at fome Biod. Sic. Olympiads: but at length, the at what time 1.15. c. 78. Paufan. 1, we are not certainly informed, the Eleians de- 5.c. 10. & stroyed Pifa fo that scarcely a ruin remained; 1.6. c. 22. and thenceforward, excepting in the hundred and fourth Olympiad, when the Arcadians violently interfered, they held the prefidency undiffurbed while the feftival existed "." The other towns

We have no connected history of these events from any one antient author, and the scraps of information remaining from writers of best authority are not easily reconcilable. Pausanias firms that the Eleians ingaged Pheidon, tyrant of Argos, to rotect their against the Pisæans in the celebration of the eighth Olympiad (1). According to that report, to which Strabo gave most credit, where it appears he esteemed none certain, the Elehe held the presidency of the sectival till the twenty-sixth Olympiad (s). He does not add how or by whom they were then deprived of it; but in a prior passage he relates that Phei-don, king of Argos, tenth in descent from Temenus the Heracleid, and the most powerful Grecian prince of his age, assumed to himself the prefidency of the Olympic festival (3). A similar account is given by Herodotus (4). Strabo adds, that the Eleians, atterly diffatished, did not register that Olympiad, but reckoned it mong what they termed Anolympiads, and that, upon occasion of this violence of the Argian prince, they first parted from their original principle of trufting wholly to their facred character for fecurity, and applied themselves to the practice of arms. He adds that, with affiftance from Lacedæmon, they at length defeated Pheidon, and acquired the territories of the Pisatis and Triphylia. He assigns no dates to any of these events. But Paufanias fays that the Pifæans, under their prince Pantaleon, ejected the Eleians in the thirty-fourth Olympiad.

(1) b. 6. c. 22. (2) Strab. l. 8. p. 355. (3) p. 355. (4) b. 6. c. 127. VOL. L. and

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ARCADIA was early divided into many fmall states, of which some retained long the regal form of government; or, to use modern terms perhaps more analogous to the circumstances. they were under the rule of chiefs like the Scottish highland lairds: for the country being wholly mountainous and inland, and the prople mostly herdmen, the towns were small, and their inhabitants unpolished. Some improvements, however, would come to them from their neighbours: fome were fuggested by nen cessity. When bordering states increased in power, the scattered inhabitants of mountain villages were no longer equal to the protection of their herds and their freedom: for men, together with their cattle, were still principal objects of plunder. On the frontier, therefore, where the most formidable neighbour arose. nine villages uniting made Tegea a confiderable city; and five others joined to form that of Mantineia.

Strab. 1. 8. p. 337.

and held the prefidency of the festival till after the forty-eighth. He has not marked with precision the time when the Eleians recovered it, and destroyed Pifa; but he says the Eleians called all those festivals, at which the Piscans presided, Anolympiads, and did not register them in their catalogue. These discordancies and desiciencies, in the accounts of two such authors as Strabo and Pausanias, deserve the consideration of these who desire to know what credit is due to the Olympic chronology for the times before the Persian war.

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SECTION III.

History of Lacedemon. Legislation of Lycurgus.

THE conquering Heracleids had scarcely decided upon the division of Peloponnesus, when Aristodemus, to whose share Laconia fell. died, leaving newborn twin fons, Eurysthenes and Procles. The mother, it is faid, through Herodot. impartial fondness, refusing to declare which 1.5. C. 52. was the elder, it was determined that both Leg. 1. 3. those princes should succeed to the throne of Paufan. 1. their father with equal authority, and that the 3. c. 1. posterity of each should inherit the rights of their respective ancestors. Laconia was es- strab. 1. teemed a territory of inferior value to both 8. p. 366. Argolis and Messenia; yet so early as the Tro- 4. c. 3. jan war, we find Lacedæmon reckoned among the richest and most powerful cities of Greece. The divided royalty indeed, now established, was apparently a form of government little likely to be lafting in itself, or to give power or happiness to the people who lived under it: but as in the natural body, a fever often leads to a renewal of the constitution, so still more. in the political, advantageous establishments commonly owe their very conception to violent diforders. Jealoufy, as might be expected, arose between the kings: but hence it became necessary for each to court the favor of the people

people; and while in other Greeian states the

Plutavit. Lycurg. Thucyd. 1. 1. c. 13.

Herodot. l. r. c. 65. Ifoc. Panath. p. 548. t. 2. Strab, l.8. p. 365. Plut, vit. Lycurg. Paufan. l. 3. C. 2 &

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tyranny of the one king drove the multicude to affume by violent means the supreme power to themselves, in Lacedamon the concessions of the two gave by degrees fuch importance to the people, that the royal authority scarcely remained an object of either terror or envy. Thus, however, the powers of government were at length fo weakened, that the worft, perhaps, of all tyrannies, anarchy, prevailed in Sparta. The evils of this lawlers fituation appear to have been fometimes checked by abler princes, who led the contentions fpirit of the people to exert itself in forein wars, in which some succeffes were obtained. Little, however, of importance occurs among the traditions concerning the Lacedamonian state, till Lycurgus, of the race of Procles, succeeded his brother Polydectes in the throne. Nor are we informed with the certainty that might be expected, in what age, or even with what coremporaries, this extraordinary man lived. But the full affurance we have of the fublistence, through many centuries, of that wonderful phenomenon in politics and in the history of humanity, the Spartan fystem, the establishment of which is by the ftrongest concurrence of authorities referred to him, may teach us that we ought not to refuse our belief to a relation of facts merely because they are strange and moreover, that the uncertainty of the date of any event in those early ages, when no regular bodyont line's Herogettas

method of dating was in use, is no argument that the event itself is uncertain "

According to that account which Plutarch Plut. vit. feems to have preferred. Lycurgus was fifth in descent from Procles, and tenth from Hercules. When the scepter devolved to him by the death of his brother, the widow of that prince was breeding. He was no fooner affured of this, than he publicly declared that he held the throne thenceforward upon trust only, to relign is to his brother's child, if it should prove a fon and dropping accordingly the title of king he retained the royal power as Prodicus, or protector only. I proceed with this anecdoter which found credit with the best antient historians, and may the rather deserve notice as tending to account for that veneration borne to the character of Lycurgus, which made it wifdomoin him to undertake what would have been madness in an ordinary legislator to think

Lycurg.

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of The princes then, we are told, more for strab. 1. licitous to remain a queen than to become a 10. p. 482. mother, caused private intimation to be given Lyc. Jufto Lycurgus that, if he would marry her, no can

und lo vicinity and he are long in nontrin.

** The most judicious writers of antiquity have contributed to the perplexity about the age of Lycurgus. See Thucydides, 1b. 1, 61 1811 Plato in Minos, Kenophon of the Lacertamoriun commonwealth, and Aristotle on Government. Eratostbenes and Apollodorus the chronologers undertook to decide upon it; But Plutarch, in the beginning of his life of Lycurgus, fuffi-Colently less us know what credit is due to their decisions Perhaps the best modern attempt to reconcile the discord of antient authors on this subject, as far as the succession of the Lacedæmonian kings only is concerned, may be found in note 12, p. 11, of Weffeling's Herodotus.

child

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STUDE.

child of his late brother's should ever interfere with his possession of the throne. The protector thought it prudent, in the weakness of government and licentiousness of the times, to diffemble his abhorrence of fo atrocious a propofal. He only infifted that the queen should not indanger her own life and health by any attempts to procure abortion, and he would provide, he faid, that the child when born should be no hindrance to their mutual withes. When the drew near her time he placed trusty perfons in waiting about her, whom he directed, if the brought a girl, to leave it to the women, but if a boy, to bring it immediately to him wherefoever he might be. It happened that he was fupping in public with the principal magistrates when the queen was delivered of a fon which, according to command, was instantly carried to him. He received the child in his arms, and addressing himself to those present, Spartans, he faid, 'a king is born to you, to be size. and immediately placed the infant in the royal feat. Observing then the joy which prevailed through the company, rather from admiration of his prudence and uprightness than from any cause they had to rejoice at the birth of a son to the late king, he named the boy Charilaus, which fignifies the people's joy the old on'T

But notwithstanding the power and influence which Lycurgus derived from his high birth cacy, the anarchy was extreme, and all the

¹³ Xacham infragor, did ut robe warne, firm dreinigfier if Di was red or incomponent to what terms blids and

and high office, together with the effect in which he was held by all good men, it was not difficult amid the general lawleffness prevalent in Sparta, for the brother of the queen-mother to raise a strong faction against him. Finding it, therefore, no feafon to attempt that reformation in the flate which he wished, he determined, being yet a very young man, to indulge his ap- Herod. I. petite for knowlege by visiting such forein 1. c. 65. countries as were most celebrated for art and Polit. 1. 2. fcience; the only way, in that early age, by Plut Lyc. which a defire of knowlege could be gratified. Voluntarily, or involuntarily, he left the administration of Sparta to his opponents, and passed to Crete; induced by its fingular laws and institutions, hitherto the most renowned of Greece. There he formed an intimacy with Thales, a poet of great abilities, whom he in- Strab. 1. gaged fo far in his defigns as to perfuade him Plut. Lyc. to pass to Sparta, and, by popular poems adapted to the purpose, to prepare the minds of the people for those alterations of government and manners which himself was already meditating. It is faid that he also visited Asia Al. var. Minor, where Homer's poems were then po- c. 14. pular, and that on his return he first brought them into reputation in Greece and stal site of

The diforders of Sparta were now grown to a magnitude no longer supportable. The kings were without authority, the laws without effcacy, the anarchy was extreme, and all ranks Herod. I, fuffered Such is the raccount given by Plu- Thuc. 1. tarch, fufficiently confonant to what remains 1, c. 18.

from rep. Lac.

CHAP.

-Minth

from earlier authors. As far as the fcanty light afforded will inable us to differn objects through the dark mist of antiquity, it appears that these diforders arofe principally from the ordinary fource of fedition in all the antient republicad a tyrannical disposition in the rich, and a spirit of opposition with a disinglination to labor in the poor; feldom failing confequences of domeftic flavery. At the same time the laws, being unwritten, were uncertain; and regal power, weak through division, leaned sometimes on either faction, and fometimes took opposite parts, unable to hold the balance between the two. In this fituation of things the name of Lycurgus was frequently mentioned: his approved integrity, his unshaken courage, his extensive genius, his popular manners, and that power which above all others he possessed of commanding the minds of men, were recalled to public attention. At length it was agreed by kings and people to invite him to return to his country, and in quality of legislator, to reform the state. He joyfully received the summons; but, in undertaking fo arduous an office, he proceeded with the utmost circumspection to avail himself of whatever the temper and prejudices of the times offered, that might contribute to his fuccess. He had already imperceptibly begun the bufiness by the poems of Thales; poetry being in those days, while letters were little known, the general mean of popular instruction, and often successfully used to excite popular passion. Before he would and on more

Juftin. 1. 3. c. 2. Plut. vit. Lycurg.

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would exercise his new authority, he went to Delphi to procure the opinion of a divine fanetion to his institutions. The directors of the gracle were in the highest degree favorable to his withes: and he carried back that celebrated response, as Plutarch calls it, in which the Py- Plut Lyc. thone's declared . That he was fingularly faworld by the gods; himfelf more god than Xen. Mem. man; and that it should be given him to establish the most excellent of all systems of government.'

Armed with this high authority, in addition to that before derived from the voice of his country, he returned to Sparta; having already. it should feem, formed his plan, not so properly for giving laws to a state, as for totally new-modelling a people, and making them other beings, different from all befides of human race. But, with ideas of a boldness that verged upon extravagance, he never failed to observe the most prudent caution in carrying them into execution. He began with affembling the principal citizens, to confult concerning a plan of reformation; but at this meeting he disclosed nothing of his own design. He then took opportunities to advise with his more particular friends privately; and with these he was freer in communication, opening to each more or less as he found them disposed. When he had thus formed a party ftrong enough to fupport his measures, the kings Archelaus and Charilaus still strangers to his purposes, he furnmented an affembly of the people. As the multitude HOL

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Fluts Lyc. Acredot

Ken.Mem.

multitude thronged the agora, that place in Grecian towns which ferved equally the purpole of a market and a general meeting for public debate, alarm was taken at the appearance of Lycurgus's confidential friends in arms. Charllaus observing a tumult, unaware of the cause, and unprepared for desence, im-Lecks mediately fled to a neighbouring temple: but receiving affurance that no violence was intended, and being naturally of a complying temper, he returned to the affembly, and joined his uncle's party. Archelaus, with more inclination, was thus left with means too inadequate to accempt refistance, and Lycurgus proceeded unopposed. He immediately committed the executive power of the state to a fenate composed of thirty persons; twentyeight felected from among those leading men in whom he could most confide, with the two kings as presidents. To this body he gave also the most important part of the legislative authority; for laws were to originate there only. To the affembly of the people he introfted meerly the power of confirming or annulling what the fenate proposed, forbidding them all debate: the members only gave a simple affirmative or negative, without being allowed to fpeak even fo far as to declare why they gave either. To the people, however, he committed the future election of fenators, confining only their choice to persons who had passed their fixtieth year. The prerogatives of the kings confifted in being hereditary fenators, com-1 17 1 manders

Ariftot. Polit. l. 3. C. 14.

manders in chief of the armies, and high priefts SECT. of the nation.

We find it mentioned by Plato, that when Plat de the Heraeleids established themselves in Pelo-p.684.t.a.

ponnefus, the lands, throughout their conquests, were equally divided among their followers. If this were fo, (but it is unnoticed by any other writer) the next measure of Lycurgus would lofe fomething of that appearance of extreme boldness with which it strikes, as it is ordinarily reported. All the evils that can arise in an unfettled ill-constituted government from the accumulation of wealth into few hands, were daily experienced in Sparta: the poor fuffered from the oppression of the rich; the rich were Plut Lye. in perpetual danger from the despair of the poor; and where laws neither restrained nor protected, dark fraud, or open and atrocious violence, were the unceasing produce of avarice, suspicion, and misery. To combat such inveterate and complicated mischief, said Lycutgus, by ordinary methods of criminal courts and penal laws, were replete with uncertainty, danger, and even cruelty, to a degree that cannot be foreseen. How much better were it, instead of arming the hand of the executioner against the effect, at once to remove the cause! He had begun his work by fecuring those of higher rank to his party, and by the establishment of the fenate had placed almost all legal authority in their hands. But he did not mean

a partial benefit; he would extend the advantage of his laws equally to all, leaving no dif-

tinction

CHAP, tinction but of age and merital In his present purpole he was fure of the most numerous party, the poor, and thefe, headed by himfelf, would immediately become the most powerful. We have no tradition that this measure, fo opposite to the strongest passions and prejudices of mankind, produced any commotion. The principal land-owners were perfunded to part peaceably, with their possessions that other might preferve their authority; forefeeing probably that refistance would but occasion the loss of both. Thus was effected in Lacedamon that extraordinary division of lands, which allotted to every family an equal share land banished, according to Plutarch's expression, all distinction between man and man other than what arose from the praise of virtuous, and the reproach of unworthy deeds. The whole territory of Laconia was divided into thirty-nine thousand shares, nine thousand of which were assigned to the city of Sparta, the rest to other townships. A Man or arith flex

This regulation, however, would have been vain but for another which attended it: Lycurgus forbad absolutely all use of gold and silver Coin he allowed, but of iron only; which was too weighty and cumbersome, in proportion to its value, for inordinate wealth to be eafily either accumulated or used ... Among other

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objects

der, of one of the tittle andres of apparent a none it was nearly to appears clearly from all the most authoritative antient writers who have mentioned it, and particularly from Lycurgus not with standings. quad healdyly

objects which the legislator thus attained, was the check of forein commerce, and intercourse with strangers. The Spartan money was derided through Greece: forein ships, henceforward, were little feen in the ports of Laconia: flatterers, fortune-tellers, and pandars, fays Plutarch, avoided the hostile territory; and all the trades subservient to luxury were effectually banished. The exchange only of the superfluous produce of the earth against useful forein commodities was permitted mid abide of tobaco

The next ordinance was not carried fo quietly." Following in some degree the Cretan model, Lycurgus absolutely forbad that any Polyb. 1. man should live at home; strictly ordaining 6. p. 492. that all, even the kings, should eat at public tables only, where the strictest moderation and frugality should be observed. His former law ffruck at the root of luxury: this aimed at the destruction of every scattered feed; at the anmilation of every use of wealth, of the remotest defire to possess more than others. None of his innovations, we are told, gave fo much offence. In an affembly of the people fo violent an outcry was raifed against him that, apprehensive of the burst of popular passion, and of the advantage that might be taken of it by his particular enemies, he retired toward a neighbouring temple. A youth named Alcander, of one of the first families of Sparta, among others, purfued him, and, as he turned, ftruck him in the face with a flick, and put out an eye. Lycurgus notwithstanding reached the i reflects temple;

CHAP, temple; and finding that the multitude were not fo mad in their fury as to forget the respect due in the opinion of the times to the fanctity of the afylum, he exhibited to them his laces rated countenance dropping with gore; and when he had at length procured filence and attention, spoke with such moderation of temper, and fuch force of perfuation, that he converted their rage into pity and remorfe; infomuch that, on the spot, they delivered up Alcander to ahide his judgement. Lycurgus drew advantage from every circumstance. Instead of condemning Alcander to punishment, he brought him, by gentle argument and ingaging behaviour, to condemn himself; and in the end gained him, from being his most violent opponent, to become his most strenuous partizan. Perfifting then in his measure, he not only procured the establishment of it, but he went farther. The more completely to infure equality and to repress every defire of fuperfluities, he directed that none should refuse to lend whatfoever he was not immediately uting, and that any might take, even without alking, whatful ever he wanted of his neighbour's; being only bound to replace it undamaged. Private property thus was nearly annihilated.

Kenoph. le Rep. A. riftot. Polit. l. 2. C. 5.

Mainor

These extraordinary changes being effected, he had little to fear from popular opposition to what farther he might with to establish; the principal remaining difficulty was to provide for the permanency of what was already done. We are not informed with any certainty what

progress

progress letters had made in Greece in Lycur gus's time: but we are told that he would have none of his laws written; he would have them confidered as oracles; as emanations from that divine response which fanctified the voice of his country, that had appointed him to the office of legislator: he would have them ingraved in the hearts of the people, and, to effect this, he endeavoured so to direct the education of the rifing generation, that his inftitutions might be as a law of nature to them-In abolishing distinction of rank, it was his intention not to depress but to elevate his fellowcountrymen; to give every Lacedæmonian those advantages which, in other states, a few only can injoy; to make the whole people one family; every brother of which equally should receive the most liberal education and equally live in the most liberal manner. The exercise of mechanical arts, and even of agriculture, totally forbidden to free Lacedemonians, was committed to flaves: the law required that every Lacedamonian should be, in the strictest sense of the modern term, a gentleman, without business but that of the frate; for which, in peace and in war, it was the purpose of education equally to fit every. one who bore the Lacedæmonian name

And here, as in everything elfe, Lycurgus carried his views far beyond those of ordinary legislators. Having directed the institutional legislators mentioned against internal evils, of

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which wealth is elfewhere to plentiful a fource, it was necessary now to provide against external violence: and while, for the first purpose, he made his fellowcountrymen a nation of philofophers, he would, for the other, make them a nation of foldiers, superior to all the rest of mankind. Indeed the large proportion of flaves in every Grecian state, not less than the small extent of territory, made this peculiarly neceffary throughout Greece : and hence both the Spartan and Cretan legislators were induced to adapt their conflictations principally to a state of warfare. Lycurgus began with the care of children before their birth: he would have none born but ftrong and able men. In other countries great pains are taken to have the more ufeful brutes perfect in their kind. In England the fcience of breeding horses and dogs of the most generous temper, and highest bodily ability, has been carried to amazing perfection. Lacedæmon is the only country known in history where attention was ever paid to the breed of men. Lycurgus, confidering those from whom the future race of Spartans were to fpring as of high confequence to the state, gave very particular directions for the management of the young women. Inflead of that confinement, and those fedentary employments of the distass and the needle, to which the other Grecian ladies were in a manner condemned, he ordered that they should be exercised in running, wrestling, and throwing the quoit and the javelin; that they should live little within doors, and avoid those

Plat. de Leg. l. 1. init. those indulgences which elsewhere make those SECT. above the lowest rank of women generally so tender and helplefs! Thus, he thought, both themselves would better support the pains of child bearing, and the children born of them would be more vigorous. It was customary among all the Greeks for the men to appear in public quite naked at their athletic exercises. Lycurgus directed that the young women should all, at certain festivals, appear in public without any covering, dance thus in presence of the young men, and fing, addressing themselves particularly to them 15. That opinion of the fanctity of wedlock, and that respect for the purity of the marriage-bed, which were common through Greece, he thought in many infrances inconvenient; and his morality was always made subservient to his political purposes. To be unmarried, and without children for the commonwealth, he caused to be accounted mameful: but it was indifferent who was the father, provided the child was a fine one 16. For he reckoned all children to belong not for much to their parents as to the state, the com-

²⁵ This practice, as we learn from Plato, was not peculiar to Sparta, having been before established in Crete (1). The Athenian philosopher was so satisfied with it, that he would introduce it in his republic; but he nevertheless gives us to understand, that the Athenian people, in general, as well as all the rest of the antient world, thought of it nearly as modern Europeans would (2).

Plato not only approved this, but proposed to carry the principle to a still greater extreme.

Vol. I. Y (a) Ibid. & p. 457.

CHAP. mon parent of all; and confidering jealoufy as a passion often mischievous, and always useless, he contrived to banish it from Sparta by making it ridiculous. Nevertheless, with a morality so loofe, he infifted upon the frictest modelty of general behavior, both in women and in men. Virgins went with uncovered faces, but matrons veiled; their proper duty being to pleafe their husbands only; and it was forbidden for any man to praise another's wife. Promiscuous concubinage indeed, every politician, independently of any moral confideration, would prevent; and Lycurgus found means, in his fyftem, which, with any other, it would have been impossible to have put in practice. He made it diffraceful and criminal in young men to be feen in company with young women, even with their wives. The married youth was to continue his exercifes with the young men by day; he was to fleep in the common dormitory at night: and it was only by stealth, and with the utmost caution, that he could visit his bride. Tho it was held in itself right that he should visit her, yet shame, public rebuke, perhaps stripes, were the confequence of his being feen going of coming: infomuch that it was held creditable for a man that his wife should become a mother without having been ever feen in company with her hufband. It is remarkable that, of all the people of Greece, among the rough and warlike Spartans only we find the women free and respected as they were among the northern nations; and it appears still more extraordinary

ordinary when we confider what a morality was theirs. But defire of applause, and dread of shame, were what Lycurgus depended upon as mainsprings of his most singular political machine; and it seems to have been a very judiciously conceived part of his plan, to place the women upon that independent and respectable storing, which inabled them to be powerful, as they will always be willing, and generally just dispensers of such reward and punishment as applause can give or reproach inflict.

In all the Grecian republics of which we have any information, we find the lives of newborn children very little confidered by the law: it was generally left to the parents to decide whether to rear or abandon them. But the Spartan legislator, confidering the state as the common mother, and individuals as comparatively without a right, would not leave the decision to the parents. All children, presently after birth, were examined by public officers appointed for the purpose: the well-formed and vigorous only were preferved: those in whom any defect either of shape or constitution appeared, were exposed without mercy to perish in the wilds of mount Taygetus. And that

performance of everyone 'ken back': 144 bellatily

DAL

Αιδιομαι Τρίδας καὶ ΤΡΩΑΔΑΕ δικισοπόσλους: >> >

Iliad. 1. 6. v. 443.

²⁷ The legislator's idea appears to have been founded on the common manners and fentiments of the heroic ages. Homer represents Hector acknowleging fear of the reproaches of the Trojan ladies.

CHAP.

ignorance and prejudice might not, in Lacedæmon, as elsewhere, corrupt what nature had produced excellent, those who were judged worth preferving to the commonwealth, were delivered to the care of nurses, publicly provided, and properly inftructed to cooperate judiciously with nature in the rearing of infants. At the age of feven years, the boys were removed to the public schools; no Lacedæmonian being permitted to educate his children otherwise than according to the mode prescribed by law. The masters were always, chosen from among persons of the first consideration, and the schools were common places of refort for those of more advanced age; all of whom, according to that principle of patriotism which, above all things, Lycurgus took pains to inculcate, confidering themselves as fathers not of their own only, but of all the children of the commonwealth, were attentive to watch the behavior of all, and to affift in preserving good order, and in promoting the acquisition of valuable accomplishments, and vano 'anorth

The business of education was not so much to give the knowlege of a great variety of things, as to form the passions, sentiments, and ideas to that tone which might best assimilate with the constitution of the state; and so to exercise the abilities of both body and mind, as to lead them to the highest possible capacity for the performance of everything useful; particularly of everything useful to the commonwealth; for the love of their country was ever held out to

ignorance

the

the young Lacedæmonians as the polar star, SECT. which should influence all their actions, all their affections, all their thoughts. Letters Plut Lacwere taught for use only, not for ornament. init. Indeed in Lycurgus's time books were fcarcely known: but the spirit of his laws remaining still in force when literature had arrived at meridian glory in other parts of Greece, the Spartans, tho always famed for wisdom, never became eminent for learning. In Spartan education, however, great attention was paid to conversation: loquaciousness was reprobated; but the boys were exercifed at quickness in reply; and a concife fententious stile of speech, with repartees and fatirical jokes, was much incouraged. But what, above all things, were equally most valued as qualities, and most infisted on as accomplishments, were to be all-daring and all-patient, and to be highly fenfible to applause and shame. It was with a view to these that Lycurgus established that incouragement to thieving among the Lacedæmonian boys, which has by some been esteemed the disgrace of his institutions. But those who select this circumstance for blame will, upon due consideration, be found to misconceive the legislator. His fundamental principle was, that the commonwealth was all in all: that individuals were comparatively nothing: that they had no right of property, nor even of life, but in subordination to the wants of the common parent. He had in confequence nearly abolished private property: he had in a manner annihilated equalfeems Y 3

CHAP. ly honesty and dishonesty, by removing from his fellowcountrymen both want and riches. But education was to make the Spartan boys, in the highest possible degree, bold, vigilant, skilful, and obedient foldiers; with a strong point of honor, refting immediately on the defire of applause and fear of shame to themselves, but ever ultimately guided by the love of their country. With this principle and these views, the legislator directed that they should wear but one garment, which should serve equally in winter and fummer: that they should sleep on no better bed than rushes, which themselves fhould gather. The same plain food he allowed to them as to the men; but in very fcanty proportion, unless they could steal it. If they could rob a garden, or the messrooms, kitchens, or larders of the men, undifcovered, they were allowed to injoy the fruit of their boldness and skill: but, if detected in the attempt, they were punished severely; not for theft, but for aukwardness and unguardedness. The commonwealth, faid the legislator, allows fustenance to you as to the men, but it requires many duties of you. Food shall be given you; fufficient for your support: but would you indulge in what more the appetite may crave, Whatever you can acquire you must carn it. by improving, through exercise in peace, that boldness, dexterity, and vigilance, which hereafter may be useful to the commonwealth in war, is yours; the commonwealth gives it you. This certainly was clearly understood; and it feems

Xenoph. Lac. refp. & Anab. 1. 4. c. 6. f. 12. Plut. vit. Lyc. & Lac. ITI-Tnd.

feems unquestionably to follow, that such ac- SECT. quifition of property, among the Spartan boys, had nothing of the immoral and difgraceful nature of theft in other countries.

Education among the Spartans could fearcely be faid to end. When boys approached manhood their discipline increased in strictness. To check, fays Xenophon, the boiling passions Xen. Lac. of that critical period of life, the legislator augmented their stated labors, and abridged their leifure. Nor was there any remission but on military fervice: there many indulgences were allowed; infomuch that the camp was to the Lacedæmonians the scene of ease and luxury: the city that of labor, study, spare diet, and a discipline severe almost beyond conception. To ingage in earnest conflict with blows among Plat. do one another; to stand while stripes were rigo- Leg. l. 1. roufly inflicted, and bear them without any external fign of a fense of pain; to support heat almost to suffocation, and to indure extreme cold, travelling over the country in midwinter, barefoot, and sleeping in the air, were among their regular exercises, from which none were excused. Even cleanliness of person, or, at least, any particular attention to it, was difcouraged in the city; but, in the camp, not only neatness was required, but even ornament in dress was approved.

Before the age of thirty, none were allowed to meddle with public affairs of any kind: and, even after that age, it was not reputable for a man to addict himself to either political or ju-

dicial

CHAP. dicial business. But attendance upon the schools was every man's concern. Every man also gave a portion of his time to military and athletic exercises; and, as an amusement, hunting was greatly incouraged. Poetry having been made by Lycurgus instrumental in effecting his scheme of reformation, could not fail to find favor in his established system. Music followed of courfe. Together they made a necessary part of the ceremony and of the amusement of religious festivals; which were frequent at Sparta as in every other Grecian city. But all kinds of poetry and music were not allowed: the stile of both was strictly under the restraint of the magistrate. Their hours of leisure from these avocations the Lacedæmonians mostly spent in assemblies for the purpose of conversation; which they called, by a name peculiar to themselves, Leskhë; and to these much of their time was given. Of private bufiness a Spartan could have but little. It was highly difreputable for his family to ingross his attention; and private study was scarcely less reprobated. For Lycurgus, as Plutarch remarks, would have his fellowcountrymen neither defire nor even know how to live by themselves, or for themselves.

Polyb. 1. 6. p. 491. It is the observation of that experienced and able politician Polybius, who faw the constitution of Sparta expiring, after a longer existence than any other commonwealth had then been known to injoy, that for the purposes of preferving civil freedom and political concord within the state, and of securing it against all

violence

violence from without, the institutions of Lycur. SECT. gus seemed to have been conceived with more than human wisdom. Yet what to modern eyes most firikingly fets that extraordinary man above all other legislators is, that, in fo many circumstances apparently out of the reach of law, he controled and formed to his own mind the wills and habits of his people. Thus he prefcribed fobriety; and the Lacedæmonians were fober. Probably all legislators would prescribe fobriety, if they could hope to make the law effectual. But Lycurgus prescribed mirth to his people; and they were merry: nay, he prescribed a particular kind of mirth: the English proverb, Be merry and wife, was his rule; and the Spartans were ever famous for mirth guided by wisdom. He prescribed a peculiar stile of conversation; and while Sparta existed, his people were remarkable for that stile which even now, is distinguished throughout Europe by the name of Laconic. He prescribed respect to age. This is a law of nature; but no legislator ever succeeded like Lycurgus in ma- Xen. Mem. Socr. 1. 3. king a whole people, through many generations, c. 5. f. 15. uniformly obedient to it. In other govern- & 1.46. 15. ments valuable inflitutions often have refulted from fortuitous concurrences or trains of circumstances; but in Lacedæmon not only all was directed by the comprehensive mind of the legislator, but in many instances we may clearly discover the process by which he produced his most fingular effects. With regard to mirth and the stile of conversation, for instance; he

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commanded that, during meals, questions should be put to the boys, to which ready but short answers were required. This was equally amusement and business for those of advanced years; and, in the fcarcity of both allowed to the Spartans, was not likely to be neglected. Great attention, therefore, being given by those who superintended education, among whom were all the first characters of the state, both to the matter and manner of the answers, informing, correcting, applauding, as they found occasion, quickness and propriety in reply, together with a manner of speaking at once graceful, respectful, and determined, became habitual among the Lacedemonians. It appears at first view very extraordinary that, prescribing modefly to the Spartan youth, he should really make them all modest. But this too was a regular consequence of his institutions. In other flates birth and possessions giving rank and authority, the young and the profligate are continually feen superior to the old and the worthy: there age can never find its due respect. But in Lacedæmon eminence and power were the 1 1 1 E. C. meed of age and merit alone. That ftrict obedience, therefore, which was required of the young; that conftantly watchful eye which was kept over them by the aged; not by a few appointed for the purpose, but by all the elder persons of the commonwealth; together with the placing of all legal authority exclusively in the hands of the old; all these circumstances united, naturally and necessarily produced that modesty come

modesty in youth, and that reverence for age, SECT. for which Lacedemon became famous. In other cities, fays Xenophon, those of nearly the Xenoph. fame age keep company mostly together; and de Rep. in presence of equals respect and circumspection least prevail: but in Sparta the laws of Lycurgus require that the young and the old constantly affociate. Hence followed, what the fame elegant writer and experienced observer of mankind farther remarks, that whereas in other states the great esteem it a degradation to be thought under the reftraint of legal power, in Sparta, on the contrary, the greatest make it their pride to fet the example of humility, of respect for the magistrates, and of zealous obedience to the laws.

It has been a fancy of some modern authors, that the institutions of Lycurgus were but the revived usages of the heroic ages; and of others, that they were those of the rude Dorian highlanders, improved and systematized. All antiquity contradicts both opinions, and particularly the writers of highest authority 18. Xe- xenoph. nophon not only refers everything expressly to de Rep. the legislator, but affirms that Lycurgus efta- Mem. Socr. blished his plan of government upon principles f. 13. diametrically opposite to those of all other Thucyd. Grecian states, without any exception for the & 77. Dorians, either in their new or their old esta- lfocr. Pa-nathen. p. by law, but held indiffectiable in every Greenin

republic.

¹⁸ Not only Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plato, Arif- Leg. 1. 3. totle, and Polybius, were evidently without such an idea; but p. 635. the discovery appears not to have been made so late as Plutarch's Polyb.l.6,

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CHAP. bliffments; and Thucydides, and Ifocrates, and Plato, and ftill more Polybius, fpeak ftrongly to the fame purpose. On the other hand again, it is urged, that to change at once the manners and antient usages of a people, by any effort of legislation, is impossible. In a great nation we may grant it fo; but in a fmall commonwealth not: and certainly fo the antient lawgivers thought. We find it univerfally their great object to legislate for the manners 12; and hence all the political theories of the Greek philosophers are calculated for limited and narrow focieties. Lycurgus, having had this principle, almost alone, in common with all other Grecian legislators, thought it necessary, for the preservation of his system, to prevent any extensive communication of his people with those of other, even Grecian states. He therefore forbad forein travel, and allowed the refort of strangers to Sparta but under strict limitations. Forein commerce he nearly annihilated, as we have already feen, without an express law for the purpose.

We are not with any certainty informed how far the treatment of flaves among the Lacedæmonians, fuch as we afterward find it, was preferibed by Lycurgus; but it certainly flowed from his fystem, and is indeed an inexcusable diffgrace to it. Slavery was not only established by law, but held indispensable in every Grecian of 18 Med only Herodoffus Times

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republic. In the feveral republics, however, SECT. the condition of flaves varied. The most remarkable difference, and the most important. and yet the least noticed among antient and modern writers, is, that in some of them the flaves were purchased barbarians, in some they: were mostly the descendants of subdued Greeks. All the Lacedæmonian flaves, or almost all, Thucyd. appear to have been of the latter kind. There nath. p. are different accounts of the origin of those 540. t. a. miserable men, who were distinguished from Pausan. all other flaves by name as by condition. The most received is, that Helos, whether an Arcadian town or a rebellious dependence of Lacedæmon is not agreed, being taken by Sous, fon of Procles, the inhabitants were, according to the practice of the times, reduced to flavery; and were difperfed in fuch numbers over Laconia, that the name of Helot prevailed in that country as fynonymous with flave. It appears, however, probable that the Lacedæmonians, as perhaps all the Peloponnesian Dorians, had flaves of Grecian race before the reign of Sous: and we know that after it they reduced numbers of Greeks to that miserable state. But the inftitutions of Lycurgus must necessarily have occasioned a considerable alteration in the condition of the Lacedæmonian flaves. For as husbandry and all mechanical arts were to be exercised by them alone, their consequence in the state was confiderably increased: but as private property was nearly annihilated, every flave became in a great degree the flave of every Ariffot. Polit. l. a.

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CHAP. freeman. In proportion then as their confequence increased, it became necessary to look upon them with a more jealous eye; and thus every Helot was watched by thousands of jealous masters. Therefore, tho it were unjust to impute, either to the command or to the intention of Lycurgus, that cruelty in the masters, or that mifery of the flaves, which we find to have been afterward really established by law, it is however impossible to exculpate his instirutions from them. Never was human nature degraded by fystem to such a degree as in the miferable Helots. Every possible method was taken to fet them at the wideft distance from their haughty mafters. Even vice was commanded to them: they were compelled to drunkenness for the purpose of exhibiting to the young Lacedæmonians the ridiculous and contemptible condition to which men are reduced by it. They were forbidden everything manly, and they were commanded everything humiliating, of which man is capable, while beafts are not. A cruel jealoufy became indifpensable in watching a body of men, far superior in number to all the other subjects of the state, and treated in a manner fo fingularly provoking indignation and refentment. Hence that abominable institution the Crypteia. The most active and intelligent young Lacedæmonians were occasionally fent into the country, carrying provisions, and armed with a dagger. They dispersed, and generally lay concealed during the day, that they might, with more reeman. c. s advantage

Plut. vit. Lycurg.

advantage in the night, execute their commillion for reducing the number of the Helots, by murdering any they met, but felecting in preference the stoutest men, and those in whom any superiority of spirit or genius had been obferved. Notwithstanding, however, these inhuman and difgraceful precautions, Lacedamon was oftener in danger of utter subversion from its flaves than from forein enemies.

Herodotus, as well as Plutarch, attributes to Herodot. Lycurgus the honor of the MILITARY code of Plut. vit. Sparta equally as of the Civil; and the higher Lycurg Xenoph. authority of Xenophon goes much to confirm de Rep. their testimony. If the Spartan military was Lac. really put by the great legislator upon the footing which that foldier-philosopher defcribes, the improvement fince Homer's age was indeed extraordinary. Probably, however, improvement did not cease with Lycurgus, but was continued, as experience gave occasion, in the course of warfare little intermitted through fuccessive centuries. But that fundamental law which bade the Lacedæmonians place their fecurity in their discipline and their courage, and not in fortifications, breathes the very fpirit of Lycurgus. Lacedæmon accordingly was never fortified. The kings were commanders in chief of the forces; and their authority, as the nature of military command requires, was much greater in the army than in the state. They were, however, still amenable to the civil power for any undue exercise of that necessary, but dangerous extent of Supremacy. W Violitions

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There remain to us two accounts of the

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Composition of the Lacedæmonian Army, from authors, both living when Sparta was in its highest glory, both military men, both of great abilities, and both possessing means of information such as few, not themselves Lacedæmonians, could obtain. In general they agree; but on some effential points they differ, in a manner not to be accounted for but by the fupposition of some error in the transcription of their works. According to Xenophon, the legislator distributed the Lacedæmonian forces into fix divisions of foot, and as many of horse; each of these divisions in either service having the title of Mora. The officers of each mora of infantry, he fays, were one Polemarch, four Lochages, eight Pentecosters, and sixteen Enomotarchs; but the number of foldiers he leaves unmentioned. Thucydides, without noticing the mora, describes the Lacedæmonian infantry thus: ' Each Lochus confisted of four Pentecostyes, and each pentecostys of four Enomoties; four men fought in the front of each enomoty: the depth of the files was varied according to circumstances at the discretion of the lochage; but the ordinary depth was eight men.' Thus the enomoty would confift of thirty-two men, the pentecoftys of a hundred and twenty-eight, the lochus of five hundred and twelve, and a mora composed of four lochi would be two thousand and fortyeight. But, according to Xenophon, if the enomoty was of thirty-two men, and it appears

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nearly certain that it was not of more, the pen- SECT. tecoftys would be but fixty-four, the lochus a hundred and twenty-eight, the mora only five hundred and twelve, and the whole Lacedæmonian infantry three thousand and seventytwo. We are, however, informed by Plutarch. that by the division of lands in Laconia only. before the acquisition of Messenia, thirty-nine thousand families were provided for. The Lacedæmonians were not generally admitted to the honor of going upon fervice beyond the bounds of Laconia till after the age of thirty: yet, as the proportion of cavalry was very small, and every Lacedæmonian was a foldier. we cannot reckon the infantry much fewer than forty thousand. In the Persian war we shall find ten thousand employed in one army beyond Peloponnesus, when a considerable force befides was on distant service with the fleet. and while an enemy within Peloponnesus would make a powerful defence necessary at home. Thus it appears fcarcely dubious that there must be some mistake in the copies of Xenophon. I have thought it, nevertheless, proper to be fo particular in a detail which cannot completely fatisfy, not only because of the well-earned fame of the Spartan military, but also because of the high character of the authors of these differing accounts, and farther because the impossibility to reconcile them will at least apologize for deficiencies which may appear hereafter in relating operations of the Lacedæmonian forces. For the military reader will have ob-Vol. I. ferved :

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CHAP, ferved, that the difference is not meerly in names and numbers, but materially regards the composition of the Lacedemonian armies. This, according to Thucydides, was formed with the utmost simplicity, from the file of eight men, by an arithmetical progression of fours: and probably for some purposes the file itself was divided into four quarter-files. Four files, then, made the enomoty, four enomoties the pentecostys, four pentecostyes the lochus, and, according to Xenophon, four lochi the mora, which was thus analogous to the modern brigade of four battalions. Xenophon farther informs us that the mora was the proper command of the polemarch, and from both writers it appears that the polemarchs were generalofficers, subordinate only to the kings. Upon the whole there feems no reason to doubt the exactness of the account remaining from Thucydides. He makes no mention of the mora: the fix divisions of which name comprehended, according to Xenophon, the whole Lacedæmonian people; perhaps all between the ages of twenty and fixty. The strength of the mora therefore would vary as the population varied. and we know that the Lacedæmonian, and particularly the Spartan families, after the Persian invasion, diminished rapidly. Moreover it was usual according to the importance of the occafion, to order all within the military age for an expedition, or those only within a more limited age, as between thirty and forty. Upon the 2 2 whole whole then it appears probable that the strength SECT. of the mora was indefinite 20.

Subordination, in the Lacedamonian difcipline, as Thucydides in pointed terms remarks. was simple in principle, but multiplied in degrees, fo that responsibility for due execution of orders was widely extended; the proportion of those who had no command being comparatively very small ". Upon the whole, indeed, there appears great analogy between the composition of the Lacedæmonian army and that of the modern European, particularly the English, whether we take the lochus of Thucydides, or the mora of Xenophon, as a battalion. The refemblance in the formation was closer

21 Σχεδόν γάρτοι ωᾶν, ωλήν όλίγου, το ερατόπεδον τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων άρχοντες άρχόντων έισί, και το έπιμελές του δρωμένου σολλοίς Thucyd. 1. 5. c. 66.

Thucydides's account of the communication of orders through the Lacedæmonian armies agrees better with his own account of their composition than what remains as Xenophon's. Yet the investigators of Greek antiquities have very generally inclined to the latter; apparently for no reason but because they would have the command of the pentecofter, penteconter, or pentecontater (for thus variously the title is written) exactly correspond to the original meaning of his name; and on this shadow of a foundation they affert that the enomoty, including its commander, was of only twenty-five men, tho it appears for clearly from Thucydides that its average complement was thirtytwo. Nothing, we well know, is more common than for names to remain when things are altered: if hereafter the meaning of the modern words Colonel and Constable should be fought in their derivation, what strange error would result! The Pentacontarchia of Arrian's time was a command not of fifty, as the name feems to import, but of fixty-four men, and the Hecatontarchia of a hundred and twenty-eight. Arrian. Tact. p. 39. ed. Amstel. & Lipz. 1750.

CHAP, till of late years, when the deep files of the old discipline have been totally rejected. Like the company, or fubdivision of our battalions, the enomoty appears also to have been the Principle of Motion in the Lacedæmonian forces. Whatever change was to be made in the extent of the line, in the depth of the files, or in the pofition of the front, the evolution feems to have been performed within each enomoty by itself: the just reference of these primary constituent bodies to one another, and to the whole, being a second business. Farther than this, for want of accurate knowlege of the technical phrases, it is hazardous to attempt explanation of those evolutions of the Lacedæmonian troops which Xenophon has even minutely described, and concerning which his applause highly excites curiofity. Some other circumstances, however, he has related in terms fufficiently clear. Lycurgus, he fays, on account of the weakness of angles, directed the circular form for incampment; unless where a mountain, a river, or fome other accident of the ground afforded fecurity: A camp-guard was mounted daily. precifely, it should feem, analogous to the modern quarter-guard and rear-guard, to keep order within the camp. A different guard for the same purpose was mounted by night. For fecurity against the enemy out-sentries and vedettes were posted. An advanced guard of horse always preceded the march of the army. Xenophon has thought it worth while particularly to mention that the Lacedæmonians wore. a fcar-

a fcarlet uniform, and the origin of this he SECT. refers to Lycurgus. The Lacedæmonian troops were always fingularly well provided with all kinds of ufeful baggage and camp-necessaries, and a large proportion of Helot servants, laborers, and artificers attended, with waggons and beafts of burthen. It appears, indeed, to have been a principle of the Lacedæmonian fervice, that the foldier should be as much as possible at ease when off duty, and should have no business but that of arms.

Other states which have flourished by the wisdom of their laws, and the goodness of their constitution, have risen by slow degrees to that excellence which has led them to power and celebrity; and fortunate circumstances have often done more for them than their wifest legislators: who have indeed feldom dared to attempt all that themselves thought best. But for Lycurgus nothing was too difficult, nothing too dangerous: he changed everything at once: new-modelled government, manners, morals; in a manner new-made the people: and yet with all these violent alterations, these experiments in politics hazardous to fuch extreme. no one consequence seems to have escaped his penetrating genius; no one of his daring ideas failed in practice; he forefaw, and he provided for everything. There was a disease inherent in the vitals of his fystem, which yet must not be imputed to him as a fault, fince human nature feems in few fituations to admit either semedy or preventive that may not prove

CHAP. worfe than the difeafe: palliatives alone can fafely be attempted. For the military turn which Lycurgus fo much incouraged in his fellowcountrymen, and the perfection of discipline which he effablished among them, were necessary not only to that respectable independency which he wished them to injoy, but even to the security of their existence as a people. He was, however, not unaware that thirst of conquest, and ambition to command, must unavoidably fpring up and flourish in a foil fo prepared. Two prohibitions, which had other more obvious purposes, appear at the same time to have been intended indirectly to obviate the mischiefs that might be apprehended from these passions: he forbad the Lacedæmonians to ingage in frequent wars with the fame people; and he forbad them, from the moment when victory was decifively theirs, to purfue a flying enemy. Each of these prohibitions tended strongly to prevent the complete conquest of any forein territory: at the same time that the first had, for its more obvious purpose, the prevention of foreiners from acquiring the Spartan discipline; and the other, beside securing against the misfortunes incident to rash pursuit, as it lessened to opposing armies the danger of flight, was likely to make victory often cheaper to the Lacedæmonians than it would be in parallel circumstances to any other people. Beside these, some institutions, probably already venerable for their antiquity, were favorable to his views, and of course would

would receive the fanction of his approbation. SECT. It was a facred law at Sparta that the full moon must be waited for before the army could quit Herodot. Laconia; and, on whatever forein fervice, it 1.6. c. 106. must return for the observance of two religious and Zefestivals, both within the ordinary feafon of noph Hel, military operations, the Hyacinthia at the beginning, and the Carneia toward the end of fummer. These then, with the exclusion of wealth, were the curbs to which Lycurgus trufted for reftraining that ambition which he could not but foresee must arise among his fellowcountrymen. Those other defects of the Plat. de Spartan constitution, of which we are informed Rep. 1. 8. by the comments of two great philosophers and Ariftot, politicians who faw it in decay, whether originally in Lycurgus's establishment, or whether of after-growth, will rather be objects for future confideration.

Lycurgus, then, having with invincible courage and unwearied perseverance, and with penetration and judgement still more fingular, executed the most extraordinary plan ever even devised by man 22; waiting a while to fee his machine in motion, and having the fatisfaction to find every part adapted, and the whole move as he wished, his next and last concern was to

²² It is a remark of John James Rouffeau, that the many plans of government proposed by speculative men, however excellent in theory, are generally flighted as meer visions, impossible to be reduced to practice: but, fays the philosopher very justly, had Lycurgus been a legislator in speculation only, his scheme would have appeared much more visionary than Plato's.

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Plat de Rep. L. C.

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CHAP. fecure its duration. Summoning an affembly of the people, he observed, upon what had been done, 'That it proved upon experience f good, and would, he hoped, go far toward affuring virtue, and of course happiness to his fellowcountrymen. He had yet one thing to propose, which however he would not venture upon till he had confulted the god: for which purpose he would go himself to Delphi: but he must have assurance that nothing should be altered before his return. Immediately kings, fenate, and people unanimoufly defired him to go, and readily ingaged. by a folemn oath, that till he returned nothing should be altered. His reception at Delphi was as favorable as before. The oracle declared, That the conflitution of Sparta, as it onow flood, was excellent, and, as long as it remained intire, would infure happiness and glory to the state.' Lycurgus sent this re-Sponse to Sparta, determined himself never to return. He had now completed what he efteemed sufficient for his life: his death was wanting to bind his fellowcountrymen indiffolubly to the observance of his institutions; and a statesman ought, if possible, he thought, to make even his death beneficial to his country. Conformably to this doctrine, which was not only not alien from the spirit of the age, but consonant to the stoic philosophy of aftertimes. he is faid to have died by voluntary abstinence from nourishment. Different accounts are. however, given, both of the place and manner of

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of his death. One tradition fays that he lived Julin 1: to a good old age in Crete; and dving naturally, his body was burnt according to the practice of the age, and the relics, pursuant to his own request, scattered in the sea; lest, if his bones or ashes had ever been carried to Sparta, the Lacedæmonians might have thought themselves freed from their obligation by oath to observe his laws, of and whom when the later we

the cheering, and to fanasquired family thetefrosis? SECTION IV. must be a read by count branch of the Herry lied.

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History of Messenia from the Return of the Heracleids, and of Lacedemon from the Legislation of Lycurgus, to the Completion of the Conquest of Messenia by the Lacedemonians.

baselishing females from the older Circular IT was not long after the full establishment of Lycurgus's institutions, before the increase of vigor to the Lacedæmonian state, for external exertion, became as apparent as the internal Herodot." change from boundless disorder to unexampled 1. z. c. 66 regularity. The Spartans exulted in their newfelt strength: the defire to exercise it grew irrefistible; and they became early marked by their neighbours as, a formidable people. Wars arose with all the bordering states; but those with Messenia, for the importance of their confequences, will principally demand attention in Tang and the party of

Messenia, as we have already observed, was the least mountainous, and the most generally fruitful

CHAP. fruitful province of Peloponnefus; but it feems

Paufan. 1. 4. C. 3. Ifocrat, Archid.

never to have been bleft with a government capable of fecuring to its inhabitants the advantages which the foil and climate offered. Crefphontes the Heracleid, we are told, endeavouring to support himself by the favor of the lower people against the arrogance of the leading men. an infurrection infued, in which he was cut off with his family; only one fon, Æpytus, escaping This prince, however, ascended the massacre. the throne; and fo far acquired fame, that from his name the Messenian royal race were distinguished as the Æpytidian branch of the Heracleid family. But the Messenian history affords little interesting before the wars with Lacedæmon, which, with their confequences, form indeed almost the whole of it. Concerning those wars hardly anything remains from the older Grecian writers. Herodotus, without giving us to know 1. 1. c. 66. why, avoids the mention of them. In a very late age Paulanias endeavoured to supply the deficiency; and he appears to have taken great pains, by collating poems, and traditions preferved by profe-writers, with antient genealogies, and temple records, to ascertain the principal circumstances of Messeneian history. In many points he is confirmed by scattered passfages of authors of high authority; and the confequences of the Messenian wars were so remarkable and fo important, and remain fo unquestionably ascertained, that Pausanias's ac-

count of the wars themselves will reasonably

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The affigned causes of the fatal quarrel are objects of notice, as they tend to mark the manners of the age. However the Greeks were politically divided, they always maintained a community in the concerns of religion. Some religious rites indeed were held peculiar to particular cities, and fome even to particular families; but fome were common to all of the fame hord, Dorian, Ionian, Æolian, and some to the whole nation. There was at Limnæ, Paufan. 1. on the frontier of Messenia against Laconia, a 4 c. 4 temple dedicated to Diana: where Messenians and Lacedæmonians, both being of Dorian origin, equally reforted to facrifice, and to partake of those periodical festivities which were usual at the more celebrated Grecian temples. In a tumult at one of those festivals, Teleclus Pausan. king of Sparta, fon of Archelaus the cotempo- ut fup. Strab. 1. rary of Lycurgus, was killed. The Lacedæ- 8. p. 362monians, were loud in complaint that the Meffenians had attempted to carry off some Spartan virgins, and that Teleclus received his death in defending them. The Messenians, averred that the treachery was on the part of the Lacedæmonians; that the pretended virgins were armed youths, difguifed with a purpose to affassinate the Messenian chiefs who attended the folemnity; and that Teleclus and his followers met a just fate in attempting to execute their execrable intention. On whichfoever fide the truth lay, the Lacedæmonians checked their refent-

28 p. 162.

CHAP, refentment, till in the reigns of Alcamenes for of Teleclus, and Theopompus grandson of Charilaus (for we have no dates of any authority for these events but what the genealogies of the Spartan kings furnish 23) other causes of quarrel arose. Polychares, a Messenian of rank, put out by agreement some cattle, in which still confifted the principal riches of the times, under the care of herdmen his own flaves, to palture on the lands of Euæphnus, a Lacedæmonian, who fold both cattle and herdmen, and pretended to Polychares that they had been carried off by pirates. The fraud was however discovered by one of the slaves, who, escaping from his purchaser, returned to his former master. Euæphnus, thus detected, promised an equivalent; and the son of Polychares was fent to receive it; but instead of keeping his word, Euæphnus caufed the young man to be AUDIE SO affaffinated. The father, upon this, full of We ob drive

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²³ Paufanias indeed fays that Polychares, who immediately brought on the Messenian war, was victor in the fourth Olympiad. Paufan. 1, 4. c. 4. We may believe that the name of the victor in the fourth Olympiad was Polychares, and yet perhaps reasonably doubt if he was the person who caused the Messenian war, which, according to Newton's chronology, must have begun near a century later, about the twenty-fourth or twentyfifth Olympiad. Numbers are very liable to fuffer in transcription, and evident errors in the statement of numbers occur in our copies of Paulanias. The great earthquake of Sparta is there faid to have happened in the age of Cimon and in the twentyninth Olympiad. We know from Thucydides that it did happen in the age of Cymon, and we may therefore believe that Diodo+ rus and the chronologers, tho they difagree, do not err by many years when they affign it to either the fourth year of the 77th, or the fourth year of the 18th Olympiad.

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grief and indignation, went himself to Sparta, SECT. and laid his complaint before kings and people: but finding no disposition to grant him any redress, he returned inraged into his own country, and retaliated by frequent affaffination of the Lacedæmonian borderers. These outrages brought a deputation from Sparta to the Mesfenian state, to demand reparation. Two kings Paulan 1. then reigned in Messenia. Of these Androcles 4 c. 5. was inclined to give up Polychares rather than risk a war with Sparta. But Antiochus opposed a measure which he affirmed to be equally mean and unjust; and such was the imperfect and unfettled state of the Messenian government, that recourse was had to arms for deciding the difpute. Androcles and his principal partizans were killed, and Antiochus thus became sole king of Messenia.

The Lacedæmonians highly exasperated, and now without any view of peaceful redrefs, are faid to have taken a measure not incredible of their age and circumstances, however impossible to have happened in fuch large kingdoms as have led the affairs of modern Europe. Without any of those formal declarations by Polyb. 1. heralds which the law of nations, even then 6. p. 492. among the Greeks, required, as the forerunners 6. p. 279. of honorable war, they prepared fecretly for 4. c. 5. hostilities; and so extreme was the animosity Justin. I. against the Messenians, which then pervaded 3. c. 4. their little state, an oath was univerfally taken, That no length of time should weary them, no magnitude of misfortune should deter them,

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CHAP, but they would profecute the war, and, it is added by fome writers, would on no account return to their families, till they had subdued Meffenia. This violent resolution thus solemn-Panfan. ut ly taken, Ampheia, a small town advantageously fup. Ol. 32.1. fituated for covering the frontier, became their first object. A body of troops, led by their king Alcamenes, entered it by night: the gates being open and no guard kept, as no hostilities were apprehended. The place was taken with fearcely any refistance; and all the inhabitants.

except a few who escaped by flight, were put to

Ol. 0. 2. 743.

> the fword. Antiochus dying, after having injoyed but for a few months the monarchy of Messenia. was fucceeded by his fon Euphaës. This prince prepared wifely to refift the fform which was bursting on his country. While he avoided battles with the Lacedæmonians, whose art of war and practifed discipline gave them a decided superiority in the field, he provided so effectually for the defence of the Messenian towns. that every attempt of the enemy proved unfuccessful against them. Thus secure at home, he took opportunities occasionally to imbark some chosen troops, and revenged the pillage committed in Messenia by similar depredations on the coast of Laconia. It was not till the fourth year of the war that he thought his people practised enough in arms to meet the Lacedamonians in the field; and even then, refolved to put nothing to hazard, his aim was less to push for decifive victory, than to let it appear that, while

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while warching opportunities, he could face SECT. the enemy without disadvantage. In the following year, however, the two armies came to a general ingagement; and with a fury of which polished times, being without equal incentives, can furnish no example. 'Recollect,' said Euphaës, speaking to his troops on the point of ingaging, it is not for your lands only. vour goods, your wealth that you are going to fight. But you well know what will be your fate if vanquished: your wives and children will be flaves; and, for yourselves, death will be your fairest lot, if it comes without 'ignominy or torture: Ampheia may tell you 'this.' Night, however, stopped the battle; and next morning each army found itself for weakened by the numbers slain, that both shunned a renewal of the ingagement.

But the trial of arms was thus equally maintained by the Messenians, yet their affairs Pausan. 1. were, in other points, declining greatly. The 4. c. 9. open country had been fo long the spoil of the enemy, that the means of supporting themselves within their garrifons began to fail; their flaves deserted; and disease, the common consequence, especially in hot climates, of crouding together, in towns, persons accustomed to breathe the free air and eat the fresh food of the fields. made havoc among them. New measures became necessary. They drew their people, from all their inland posts, to Ithomë, a strong situation near the coast; which they preferred, because, the Lacedæmonians having no naval force, it would always

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always be open to fupplies by fea. Inlarging this place fufficiently to receive its new inhabitants, they added at the fame time, to its extraordinary natural strength, everything of which their skill in fortification was capable. While thefe works were going forward, their doubts and fears directed them farther, to ask advice of the Delphian oracle, the common refource of desponding states, how the blessing of the gods might be obtained to their endeavours. The answer might perhaps justify a fuspicion that the Delphian priests were corrupted by the Lacedæmonians; for it was perfectly adapted to produce difcord and confusion' in Messenia. The Pythoness declared, That a virgin of the blood of Æpytus must be facriced to the infernal deities. The confequences were no other than might be expected from an abfurd and cruel superstition. The lot fell upon the daughter of Lycifcus. But a prieft, gained by the father, declared that the daughter was supposititious, and therefore not known to be of the blood required by the gods. Lycifcus, however, still fearing for his child. took the opportunity afforded by the doubts and confusion which the priest's declaration had occasioned, to carry her off, and he deserted with her to Sparta. Double confusion, doubt, and despondency now took possession of the Messenian council: when Aristodemus, a man in whom fuperfition or ambition, or perhaps both together, had stifled paternal tenderness, offered his own daughter for the victim.

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But here other obstacles occurred. SECT. of highest rank and estimation; who, shocked with the fuddenness of the father's dreadful purpose, infifted vehemently that his daughter was not at his disposal, but belonged to him to whom the was betrothed, and whose wife the was on the point of becoming. This, however, not availing, the young man, agonizing with the thought of thus tragically lofing his beloved bride, averred that the daughter of Aristodemus could not fatisfy the requisition of the gods, for she was no virgin, being already with child by him. Infult, thus added to opposition, inraged Aristodemus to madness; the savage flew his daughter with his own hand; and, to vindicate the honor of his family by demonstration of the falsehood of the lover's affertion, caused the body to be diffected. The priests now demanded another virgin, the deceafed not having been regularly facrificed. But the wifer Euphaës, finding himfelf strongly supported by the Apytidian families, who were numerous and powerful, perfuaded the people that the command of the oracle was fufficiently performed, and no more blood required by the no a party batchile align gods.

The horrid deed of Aristodemus is however faid so far to have served his country, that the same of the oracle, and of the obedience paid to it, threw some diffidence into the minds of the Lacedamonians; insomuch that, for sive years, the war was almost intermitted. But in Vol. I. A a

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pompus led an army toward Ithomë; and Euphaës now, trusting in the practised valor of his people, of perhaps still more dreading the consequences of confining them in garrison, marched to meet him. A battle was again fought, in which, as in the former, great slaughter was made on both sides, without any decisive advantage to either; only that the brave and worthy Euphaës, anxious by his example to lead his people to victory, received a mortal wound. The ambition of Aristodemus now was gratisted: Euphaës leaving no issue, he was raised to the throne by the voice of the people, in preference to all others of Æpytidian race.

The known bravery and activity of this prince were fuch that the Lacedæmonians derived little incouragement from the death of Euphaës: and their loss in the late battle was so great that, again, for four years, the operations of the war were confined to mere predatory incur-This time was judiciously employed by the new Messenian king in strengthening his alliance with the Argians, Arcadians, and Sievonians; infomuch that, when, in the fifth year of his reign, the Lacedæmonians marched all their forces against Ithome, he received powerful affistance from those states. A pitched battle was fought, in which the abilities of Aristodemus, as commander in chief, were not less conspicuous than his bravery had been when an inferior officer. The Lacedæmonian armies excelled in heavy-armed foot. The Messenians

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were fuperior in light troops, who used chiefly SECT. missile weapons. By a judicious disposition of thefe, supported by the determined bravery of his heavy phalanx, Aristodemus, after repeated and well varied efforts, fucceeded in breaking the Spartan order of battle. Great numbers fell, both on the field and in the retreat. But. the victory was fairly on the fide of the Meffenians, yet the excellence of the Spartan discipline prevented a total rout. The Lacedemonians chiefs, however, found it necessary to lead the shattered remains of their army immediately into Laconia.

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Now the Lacedæmonians in their turn fent to Delphi to ask advice of the god. The Messenians. still more interested in the event, again did the fame. Unintelligible responses were absurdly and childifuly interpreted; and for some time there was an emulation between the two people in Superstition rather than in arms. Remorfe for his daughter's death meantime took possession of Aristodemus. We are not informed of any confiderable subsequent misfortune, public or private, that had befallen him, when he killed himself on her tomb. The accounts, indeed, of the conclusion of this war are extremely defective: they leave us almost wholly uninformed. of the steps immediately leading to the catastrophe. The death of Aristodemus was probably among them; for we hear of no Messenian leader of eminent abilities after him. Spartan discipline and Spartan perseverance therefore at A a 2

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Ol. 37.1. length prevailed. Ithomë was besteged and B. C. taken. The inhabitants and garrison, pressed N. with extremity of famine, found opportunity Ol. 14.1. to pass the Lacedæmonian lines, and fled, as every one formed hopes of fafety and fubfiftence.

Many had claims of hospitality at Argos, at Sicvon, and in the Arcadian towns: and to those places accordingly directed their steps upon this melancholy occasion. Those who had Paufan. l. been admitted to the mysteries of Ceres, or could trace their pedigree to the facred families of that goddess, found refuge at Eleusis. The miserable multitude, to whom no place of se-

cure retreat occurred, scattered, some to find their former dwellings, others variously about the country. The Lacedæmonians, having de-ftroyed Ithomë to the foundation, proceeded to take possession of the other towns without opposition. They gave to the Asinæans, who had

Strab.1.3. lately been expelled from their town and lands by the Argians, a tract on the Messenian coast, which to the days of Pausanias was still inha-4. C. 14. bited by their posterity. The other lands they left to the remaining Messenians; exacting from them, together with an oath of allegiance, half the produce as tribute. Thus was this important territory added to the dominion of Sparta.

Among the events of this war, one is related, which bears a strange appearance to modern readers, and yet found credit with fome of the Strab.1.6. most judicious antient writers. Their accounts P.378,279. Justin. 1. indeed differ: vet all are fo far confonant to one another, to the manners and circumstances

of the times, and to other authenticated events. SECT. that we cannot suppose them unfounded. The absence, we are told, of the Lacedemonians from their homes, in consequence of the rash oath taken at the beginning of the war, was long supported by their wives with Spartan fortitude. But year elapfing after year, and Meffenia still unsubdued, the matrons at length fent to the army, representing the unequal terms on which the war was waged. The enemy, they observed, living with their families, new citizens were continually produced. to fupply the decay of nature and the ravage of war: but the Spartan women had paffed years in widowhood; and should the war continue. however victorious their arms, the state would be as effectually annihilated as it could be by a conquering enemy; for there would be no rifing generation. The complaint was acknowleged to require serious consideration; but remedy appeared difficult without incurring the guilt of perjury, and thus drawing down the vengeance of the gods for that supposed of all crimes the most offensive to them. The difficulty was, however, not to Lacedæmonians what it would have been to any other people. It was determined that those who had arrived at the age for bearing arms fince the commencement of the war, none of whom fortunately had taken the oath, should be fent home to cohabit promiscuously with the marriageable virgins; or; according to fome authors, with all the women. The institutions of Lycurgus were effectual to haireil

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conquer fome of the strongest passions of human nature, yet they were not equal to the annihilation of all prejudice. When the war at length was happily terminated, and things at Lacedemon refumed their wonted course, the innotent offspring of these irregular embraces were flighted by the other citizens. Being, however, not the less high-spirited for being less regularly born, fome disturbance was apprehended from their uneafiness at the distinctions made to their difadvantage. It was therefore thought prudent to offer them means of establishing themfelves without the bounds of Peloponnesus. They readily confented to emigrate; and under the conduct of Phalanthus, one of their own body, they founded the city of Tarentum in Italy ad tilion to an bomildingary line for and

During near forty years Messenia remained in quiet subjection. Those of its unfortunate people who fubmitted to the Lacedæmonian terms, chose the least among evils presenting themfelves, and rested under their hard lot. But the fucceeding generation, unexperienced in the calamities of war, unexperienced in the comparative strength of themselves and their conquerors, yet instigated by a share of that irrefiftible spirit of independency which at this time fo remarkably pervaded Greece, and buoyed up by that hope of fortunate contingencies, so natural in adversity to generous minds, could not brook the comparison of their own circumstances with those of all other Greeks. Their fubjection was indeed too fevere and too humiconquer liating

fiating to be by any possibility borne with fatisfaction, yet not fufficiently depressing to insure the continuance of quiet fubmission: A leader therefore only was wanting, of reputation to attract and concentrate the materials of the rifing florm, and it would burft with energy. Such a leader appeared in Aristomenes, a youth whose high natural spirit was still elevated by the opinion of his descent from Hercules, through a long race of Messenian kings. When therefore others were proposing a revolt, Ariftomenes was foremost to act in it. Persons were fent privately to the former allies of the flate, the Argians and Arcadians, to folicit affistance. Very favorable promifes being received, Aristomenes and his party immediately attacked a body of Lacedamonians at Dera. A very obstinate action insued, which termi- Ol. 43.2. nated without victory to either party: yet the Messenians were so satisfied with the behavior of Aristomenes, that they would have raised 01.23.4. him to the throne. He prudently refused that invidious honor, but accepted the office of commander in chief of the forces.

The first adventure related of this hero, after his elevation, founds romantic; but the age was romantic, and his fituation required no common conduct. His principal friend and constant companion was Theocles, a man of birth among the Messenians, and esteemed the ablest prophet of his time; a character, in that rude age, apparently indicating that he was a man of more than common understanding, ad-

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dicted rather to study and contemplation than to active life. Such a man, and the friend of fuch a man, would be aware of the advantages to be derived from the prevailing popular fuperstitions. There was at Lacedæmon a temple called the brazen house, dedicated to Minerva, and held in fingular veneration. Aristomenes entered that city alone by night; which was not difficult, as there were neither walls nor watch, and the less dangerous as no Grecian towns were lighted, and the Lacedæmonian institutions forbad to carry lights. Secure therefore in obscurity, he suspended against the brazen house a shield, with an inscription declaring, that Aristomenes, from the spoils of Sparta, dedicated that shield to the goddess. Nothing the early Greeks dreaded more than that their enemies should win from them the favor of a deity, under whose peculiar protection they imagined their state to have been placed by the piety of their forefathers. The Lacedæmonians were fo alarmed, that they fent to inquire of the Delphian oracle what was to be done. answer of the Pythoness was well considered for the fafety of the oracle's reputation, but rather embarrassing to the Lacedæmonians: it directed them to take an Athenian for their counsellor. An embaffy was accordingly fent to Athens. But here too some embarrassment arose: for the Athenians, far from defirous that the finest province of Peloponnesus should become for ever annexed to the dominion of Sparta, were nevertheless fearful of offending the god who gave the bookit

Plut. Lac. Inft. init.

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the oracle. They took therefore a middle way; and in complying hoped to make their compliance useles. They fent a man named Tyrtæus, who, among the lowest of the people, had exercised the profession of a schoolmaster; little known of courfe, but supposed of no abilities for any purpose of the Lacedæmonians, and lame of one leg. There is fomething in thefe circumstances fo little confonant to modern history, that they are apt at first view to bear an appearance both of fable and of infignificancy. But they come so far authenticated, Lycurg. that it is impossible not to give them some cre-crat. p. dit. It was partly from the admired works of all. t. 4 Tyrtæus himself, fragments of which remain, or. Gr. a that historians afterward collected their account Strab. 1.8. of the Messenian affairs; and it is still common, Pausan. we know, for circumstances, in themselves the 1.4. most trifling, to have consequences the most im- 3. c. s. portant.

The Messenian army was now reinforced by Argian, Arcadian, Sicyonian, and Eleian auxiliaries; and Messenian refugees from various forein parts came in, with eager zeal, to attach themselves once more to the fortune of their former country. These combined forces met the Lacedamonian army, which had received fuccour from Corinth only, at Caprusema. The exertions of Aristomenes, in the battle which infued, are faid to have exceeded all belief of what one man could do. A complete victory was gained by the Messenians; with so terrible a flaughter of the Lacedæmonians, that it was

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in consequence debated at Sparta whether a negotiation for peace should not immediately be opened. On this occasion great effects are attributed to the poetry of Tyrtæus, and probably not without foundation. We know that even in these cultivated times, and in the extensive states of modern Europe, a popular fong can fometimes produce confiderable confequences. Then it was a species of oratory fulted beyond all other to the genius of the age. Tyrtæus reanimated the drooping minds of the Spartan people. It was thought expedient to recruit the number of citizens, by infranchifing and affociating fome Helots. The meafure was far from popular, but the poetry of Tyrtæus perfuaded the people to acquiefce; and it was determined ffill to profecute the war with all possible vigor.

Aristomenes meanwhile was endeavouring to push the advantage he had gained. He did not venture a regular invasion of Laconia, but he carried the war thither by incursion. He furprized the town of Pharæ, bore away a confiderable booty, and routed Anaxander king of Sparta, who had planted an ambush to intercept his return. In another irruption he took the town of Caryæ; and, among other plunder, led off a number of Spartan virgins, affembled to celebrate, according to custom, the festival of Diana. Paufanias relates to his honor, on this occasion, a strong instance of the strictness both of his discipline and of his morality. On anw ti that . his

his appointment to the command in chief, he secr. had selected a band of young Messenians, mostly of rank, who attended him and fought by his fide in all his enterprizes. The Spartan virgins, taken at Caryæ, being intrufted to a guard from this body, the young men, heated with wine, attempted to force their chastity. Aristomenes immediately interfered; but finding it in vain that he represented to them how they dishonored the name of Grecians by attempts fo abhorrent from what the laws and cuftoms of their country approved, he laid the most refractory with his own hand dead upon the fpot, and then restored the girls to their parents. We have remarked on a former occafion how common rapes were in Greece. Law and order, we may suppose, had made fome progress fince that period; yet scarcely fuch as generally to infure the chaftity of women captives in war. But where the crime of ravishing is most common, the virtue which prompts to fuch dangerous exertion, as that related of Aristomenes, for the prevention of it, will be most valued, will consequently become most an object of renown, and thence will more be caught at by afpiring minds.

Among the extraordinary adventures of that hero we find it related that, in an attempt upon the town of Ægila, he was made prisoner by some Spartan matrons assembled there for the celebration of a festival; who, trained as they were under the institutions of Lycurgus, re-

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pelled the attack with a vigor which the men of other states could scarcely exceed. Here the fofter passions, it is faid, befriended him: Archidameia, priestess of Ceres, becoming in-

amored of him, procured his escape.

Paufan. l. 4. Strab. l. 8. p. 362. Polyb.l.4.

It was now the third year of the war, when the Lacedæmonian and Meffenian forces met at Megaletaphrus; the latter strengthened by their Arcadian allies only, whose leader, Aristocrates prince of Orchomenus, was fecretly in the Lacedemonian interest. On the first onset this traitor gave the fignal for his own troops to retreat; and he artfully conducted them fo as to disturb the order of the Messenian forces. The Lacedæmonians, prepared for this event, feized the opportunity to gain the flank of their enemy. Aristomenes made some vain efforts to prevent a rout: but his army was prefently, for the most part, surrounded and cut to pieces; and he was himself fortunate in being able to retreat with a miserable remnant.

The Messenians had not the resources of an established government. A single defeat induced instant necessity for reforting to the meafure practifed by Euphaës in the former war. Abandoning all their inland posts, they collected their force at Eira, a strong situation near the sea, and prepared by all means in their power for vigorous defence. The Lacedæmonians, as was foreseen, presently sat down before the place; but the Messenians were still guora the incommentors of Lyconyus, re-

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ftrong enough to keep a communication open SECT. with their ports of Pylus and Methone 24.

The enterprizing spirit of Aristomenes indeed was not to be broken by misfortune. Even in the present calamitous fituation of his country's affairs, he would not confine himself to defensive war. With his chosen band he fallied from Eira, pillaged all the neighbouring country on the fide occupied by the Lacedæmonians, and even ventured into Laconia, where he plundered the town of Amyclæ. His expeditions were fo well concerted, and his band fo small and fo light, that he was generally within the walls of Eira again before it was known in the Spartan camp that any place was attacked. The business of a siege commonly in those times was very flow. The usual hope of the besiegers was to reduce the place by famine. But this was a vain hope to the Lacedæmonians while Aristomenes could thus fupply the garrison. The government of Sparta, therefore; finding their army ineffectual to prevent this relief, proceeded to the extremity of forbidding, by a public edict, all culture of the conquered part of Messenia. Probably the Lacedæmonian affairs were at this

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²⁴ Paufanias writes this name Mothone, and among the Greeks it so remains to this day; but the Italians, unable to pronounce the Greek 9, speak and write it Modona: the French for the fame reason call it Modon. The Italian name of Pylus is Navarino. This was, according to Strabo, not the relidence of Neftor, that city being fituated more northward, not far from the river Alpheius. a disament to indrinitation

time ill administered, both in the army and at home. Great discontents, we are told, broke out at Sparta; and the government was again beholden to the lame Athenian poet for com-

posing the minds of the people.

But the temper of Aristomenes was too daring, and his enterprizes too hazardous, to be long exempt from misfortune. His fcene of action was not extensive, so that in time the Lacedæmonians learnt, by their very losses, the means of putting a stop to them. He fell in unexepectedly with a large body of Lacedamonian troops, headed by both the kings. His retreat was intercepted; and in making an obstinate defence, being stunned by a blow on the head, he was taken prisoner with about fifty of his band. The Lacedæmonians, confidering all as rebels, condemned them without distinction to be precipitated 8. p. 367. into a cavern called Ceada, the common capital punishment at Sparta for the worst malefactors. All are faid to have been killed by the fall except Aristomenes; whose survival was thought fo wonderful, that miracles were invented to account for it. An eagle, it was reported, fluttering under him, fo far supported him that he arrived at the bottom unhurt. How far fuch miraculous affiftance was necessary to his prefervation, we cannot certainly know; but the plain circumstances of the story, the extraordinary, have, as far as appears, nothing contrary to nature. Aristomenes at first thought it no advantage to find himself alive in that

Paufan, I. Strab. I.

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horrid charnel, furrounded by his compa- SECTnions dead and dying, among the skeletons and putrid carcales of former criminals. He retreated to the farthest corner he could find, and, covering his head with his cloak, lay down to wait for death, which feemed unavoidable. It was, according to Paufanias, the third day of this dreadful imprisonment, when he was startled by a little rustling noise. Rifing and uncovering his eyes, he faw by the glimmering of light, which affifted him the more from his having been fo long in perfect darkness, a fox gnawing the dead bodies. It presently struck him that this animal must have found fome other way into the cavern than that by which himself had descended, and would readily find the same way out again. Watching, therefore, his opportunity, he was fortunate enough to feize the fox with one hand, while with his cloak in the other he prevented it from biting him; and he managed to let it have its way, without escaping, so as to conduct him to a narrow bury. Through this he followed, till it became too small for his body to pass; and here fortunately a glimpse of daylight caught his eye. Setting, therefore, his conductor at liberty, he worked with his hands till he made a passage large enough for himself to creep into day, and he escaped to Eira.

The first rumor of this reappearance of Aristomenes found no credit at Sparta. Preparations were making for pushing the siege of Eira with vigor, and a body of Corinthian aux-

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iliaries

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> The Lacedæmonians now, for the fake of celebrating in fecurity their festival called Hyacynthia, which was approaching, confented to a truce for forty days. Paufanias, who is not favorable to their fame, reports that they incouraged fome Cretan mercenaries in their fervice to watch opportunities for striking a blow against the Messenians, even during the truce; that Aristomenes was actually seized in consequence; and recovered his liberty only through the favor of a young woman in the house where he was lodged, who cut his bonds, and procured him the means of flaying his keepers.

> Through the unlkilfulness of the age in the attack of places, and the varied efforts of Ariftomenes's genius to baffle the beliegers, the

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flege, or rather blockade, of Eira was protracked to the eleventh year. A concurrence of Ol. 48.2. circumftances; feemingly trifling; but which in the detail of them by Paulanias, form an important lesson for military men, at length Ol. 27.2. decided its fate. In a violently tempestuous night intelligence was brought to the Lacedamonian commander, by a private foldier whom an intrigue with a Messenian woman had led to the discovery, that the Messenian guard at one of their posts, yielding to the weather, and trufting that the form itself would prevent their enemies from acting, had dispersed to feek shelter. Immediately the troops were filently called to arms; ladders were carried to the spot, and the Lacedæmonians mounted unrefisted. The unufually earnest and incessant barking of dogs first alarmed the garrison. Aristomenes, always watchful, hastily formed the first of his people that he could collect: and presently meeting the enemy, managed his defence so judiciously as well as vigorously, that the Lacedamonians, ignorant of the town, could not, during the night, attempt any farther progress. But neither could Aristomenes attempt any more than to keep the enemy at bay, while the rest of his people, arming and affembling, used their intimate knowlege of the place to occupy the most advantageous points for defending themselves, and dislodging the enemy. At daybreak, having disposed his whole force, and directed even the women to affift by throwing stones and tiles from the Vol. I. Bb house-

CHAP. house-tops, he made a furious charge upon the Lacedæmonians; whose superiority in number availed little, as they had not room to extend their front. But the violence of the ftorm, which continued unabated, was fuch as to prevent the women from acting on the roofs; many of whom were, however, animated with fuch manly resolution for the defence of their country, that they took arms and joined in the fight below. There the battle continued all day, with scarcely other effect than mutual flaughter. At night there was again a pause; but it was fuch as allowed little rest or refreshment to the Messenians. Now the Lacedæmonian general profited from his numbers. He fent half his forces to their camp while the other half kept the Messenians in constant alarm, and, with the return of day, he brought back his refreshed troops to renew the attack. The Messenian chiefs became soon convinced that all attempts to expel the enemy must be vain. After a short consultation, therefore, they formed their people in the most convenient order for defending their wives and children, and most portable effects, while they should force their way out of the place. The Lacedæmonians, whose political institutions in some degree commanded the permission of escape for a flying enemy, gave them free passage. The Messenians directed their melancholy march to Arcadia. There they were most hospitably received by their faithful allies of that country,

who divided them in quarters among their SECT. towns.

Even in this extremity of misfortune, the enterprizing genius of Aristomenes was immediately imagining new schemes for restoring his country, and taking vengeance on her ene-He selected five hundred Messenians, to whom three hundred Arcadian volunteers joined themselves, with a resolution to attempt the furpize of Sparta itself, while the Lacedæmonian army was yet in the farthest part of Messenia, where Pylus and Methone still remained to be reduced. Everything was prepared for the enterprize, when some of the Arcadian chiefs received intelligence that a messenger was gone from their king Aristocrates to Sparta. This man they caused to be waylaid on his return. He was seized; and letters were found upon him, thanking Aristocrates both for information of the expedition now intended, and for former fervices. affembly of the people was immediately fummoned, in which the letters and their bearer were produced; and the leaders, in the interest opposite to Aristocrates, worked up the anger of the commonalty to fuch a pitch against their treacherous prince, that they stoned him to To perpetuate his infamy, a pillar was Paufan. 1. afterward erected, with an infcription, still pre- 4 c. 22. Polyb.l.4. ferved in the writings both of Pausanias and p. 301. Polybius, warning future chiefs of the ven- fera Numgeance of the deity, which unfailingly fooner Vind. or later overtakes traitors and perjurors.

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The Pylians, Methonæans, and other Meffenians of the coast, judging it now vain to attempt the defence of their towns, imbarked with their effects, in what veffels they could collect, and failed to Cyllenë, a port of Eleia. Hence they fent a propofal to their fellowcountrymen in Arcadia, to go all together and fettle a colony wherever they could find an advantageous establishment; and they defired Aristomenes for their leader. The proposal was readily accepted by the people, and, as far as concerned them, approved by the general; but excusing himself, he fent his fon Gorgus, with Manticlus, fon of his friend the prophet Theocles, to conduct the enterprize. Still it remained to be decided to what uninhabited or ill-inhabited coast they should direct their course. Some were for Zacynthus, some for Sardinia; but winter being already fet in, it was foon agreed to put off the determination In the interval a fortunate occurtill foring. rence offered. After the abandoning of Ithome which concluded the former war, fome Meffenians, joining with fome adventurers from Chalcis in Eubœa, had wandered to Italy, and there founded the town of Rhegium. These colonists had perpetual variance with the Zancleans on the opposite coast of Scilly; a people also of Grecian origin, the first of whom were pirates, who fettled there under Cratæmenes of Samos, and Perieres of Chalcis. Anaxilas, now prince of Rhegium, was of Messenian race. Hearing therefore of this second

Strab. 1.
6. p. 257
& 268.
Paufan. 1.

cond catastrophe of his mother-country, he SECT. fent to inform the Messenians at Cyllene that there was, in his neighbourhood, a valuable territory, and a town most commodiously fituated, which should be theirs if they would asfift him in dispossessing the present proprietors, his inveterate enemies. The offer was accepted: the confederates, victorious by fea and land, befieged Zancle; and reducing the inhabitants Ol. 43.3. to extremity, an accommodation was agreed B. C. upon, by which it was determined that the Messenians and Zanclæans should hold the city Ol. 27.4 and country in common as one people, but that the name should be changed to Messenë. Such is the account given by Paufanias; and fo far that the antient Zancle had its new name of Messenë from a colony of Peloponnesian Mesfenians, established there by a prince of Rhegium, of Messenian race, and of the name of Anaxilas, is confirmed by Thucydides; the Thucyd. that historian refers the event to a later period. 1.6. c. 4 This new establishment however of the Mes- vid. & fenians, among many heavy misfortunes gene- 6. p. 268. rally flourishing, has always been a great city; at one time the capital of the iland; and an interesting memorial of a brave and unfortunate people is yet preserved in its name, with us commonly, according to the Latin orthography, Messina, but in its own country Messana, the original Doric form unaltered, to this day. How far the late dreadful convulsion of the elements, involving in common defolation Messina with its antient rival Reggio, and vio-Bb3 lently

CHAP. lently changing the face of nature to a greatextent on both coasts, may beyond all former calamities urge its final downfall, will be for the historian of future years to tell.

Paufan, 1. 4.C.23,24.

Aristomenes for some time still indulged the hope, through fome favoring contingency, to avenge his country on the Lacedæmonians. But going to Delphi, he found the Pythoness too wife to prophefy him any incouragement. Yet the he was no longer to shine in a public fituation, fortune was favorable to his private happiness. Damagetus, prince, or, as he is stiled by Grecian writers; tyrant, of Ialysus in the iland of Rhodes, happened to be at Delphi inquiring of the oracle whom he should marry; for it feems to have been about this time that Delphi was in highest repute; individuals often straining their circumstances to obtain its advice on their more interesting private concerns. To a question in its nature rather puzzling, the Pythoness gave a very prudent answer, and at the fame time of uncommonly obvious interpretation. She directed Damagetus to take the daughter of the man of highest character among the Greeks. Aristomenes, then on the fpot, was unquestionably in reputation the first of the Greeks, and he had a daughter unmarried. Damagetus, therefore, made his propofals, which were accepted; and Aristomenes passed with him to Rhodes, where he is said to have passed the rest of his life in honorable ease.

The Lacedæmonians now found themselves masters of a country almost a desert. The Asi-

næans.

næans, indeed, whom on the conclusion of the former war they had planted in Messenia, still Pausan. I. retained their fettlement. To the Nauplians, Strab. 1. lately ejected from their country by the Ar- 8. p. 373. gians, the Lacedæmonians gave the town and territory of Methonë. The rest of Messenia they divided among themselves; and many of the miserable inhabitants, who had been either unable or unwilling to feek their fortune out of their native country, they reduced to the condition of Helots.

Here we might naturally suppose the history of Messenia ended. But we shall in the sequel find its unfortunate people, still as the Messenians, taking part occasionally in Grecian affairs, and at length, after more than a century and a half, by a very extraordinary revolution, becoming again the free masters of their antient country.

During the long course of years from the first hostilities with Messenia to the completion of the conquest, Lacedæmon was not without wars with other neighbouring states, nor without political convulsions at home: but the chronology of that period is fo utterly uncertain, that it were a vain attempt to arrange the facts reported, in scattered passages, by antient authors of best credit. Very early, we are told, a dispute arose concerning the limits of Argolis and Laconia. The Lacedæmonians ejected the Argians from Cynuria. Then they afferted, with fimilar violence, a claim to the territory MARCH !

10. c. 9. Herod. l. I. C. 82. Plutarch. Parall. Min. Vid. et Thucyd. l. 5. C. 41.

of Thyrea. In the old age of king Theopom-Paulan. 1. pus, according to Paulanias, (therefore between the first and second Messenian wars, tho Herodotus feems to refer it to a later date) the armies of the two states meeting, it was determined, at a conference of the leaders, that the right to the lands in dispute should be decided by an ingagement between three hundred men from each army. The rest of the troops on both fides retired. The fix hundred fought with fuch determined valor, and fuch equal strength and skill, that two Argians only, Chromius and Alcenor, remained alive; with not a fingle Lacedæmonian, as far as in the dusk of advanced evening they could perceive, furviving to oppose them. Eager, therefore, to relate their victory, they hastened to the Argian camp. But, during the night, Othryades, a Lacedamonian, recovering from the loss of blood under which he had fainted, found himfelf, weak as he was, undisputed master of the field. His ftrength fufficed to form a trophy from the arms of his flain enemies, and he rested on the spot. On the morrow the Argians learned with astonishment that the Lacedæmonians claimed the victory. Another conference was held, in which neither fide would yield its pretentions. The armies again met; and, after a most obstinate conflict, the Argians were defeated. The measure which followed, reported by Herodo-Plat. Phæ- tus, and confirmed by Plato, strongly characterizes both the spirit of war and the spirit of government of the times. The whole Argian people

don, p.89. t. I.

people having cut off their hair, (a common SECT. mark of public mourning) it was decreed, with folemn curses against transgressors, that ' no man should suffer his hair to grow, and no woman wear ornaments of gold, till Thyrea were recovered.' The animofity which we shall find long subfisting between Lacedæmon and Argos will, with the recollection of these circumstances, not appear extraordinary.

The Lacedæmonians had also early and long contentions with the Arcadians. These allied themselves with the Argians; with whose affiftance the city of Tegea, formed, as we have Chap. 4. before observed, by an affemblage of the in- fec. 1. of this hift. habitants of nine villages, was fortified, and became capable of protecting the Arcadian borders against Lacedæmonian inroads. None Herodot. of the neighbouring people in the earlier times l. 1. c. 65. opposed Spartan incroachments with more va- 8. c. 45. lor, and none with fuch fuccess, as the Tegeans. After often fuffering confiderable losses, the Lacedæmonians, however, at length gained fome advantages; and the circumstances of the times induced that politic people to use the opportunity for forming a close alliance with the brave mountaineers; who in the fequel proved highly ferviceable to them in their more extensive views of ambition.

As it is in the nature of human affairs that things most advantageous shall have their inherent evils, so the nice balance, established by the Spartan lawgiver between the feveral powers of the government, naturally produced a con-

flant.

C. 18. Plat. de Rep. 1. 8. P.545.t.2. Ifocr. Panathen.

Herodot. 1. 1. c. Plato. Epift. 8. P-354.t.3. Xenoph. de Rep. Lac. Ariftot. Polit. Plutarch. Lycurg.

1000

stant, and often violent struggle of factions. But as the Lacedæmonian institutions were unfavorable to literature, as they strongly inforced fecreey on politics, and as foreiners had little access to Sparta, we are very defectively informed of the internal transactions of that state. Authors of greatest credit are not to be reconciled concerning the first establishment of those magistrates called Ephors, who, in course of time, acquired almost a despotic authority. Herodotus, Plato, and Xenophon, refer it to Lycurgus: Aristotle, Plutarch, and others, to king Theopompus, who completed the first conquest of Messenia. If magistrates with such a title were appointed by Lycurgus, the tenor of that lawgiver's institutions will not permit us to suppose that he meant to allow them powers fuch as they afterward exercised. He certainly favored oligarchy; and possibly the large authority which he committed to the fenate might fometimes be abused. But from the confent of Grecian writers it appears that, if the ephors were not first appointed under Theopompus, their powers and privileges were, however, confiderably augmented under his reign. That prince either found it necessary, for prevention of commotion, to grant indulgence to the people; or convenient, for his own power, to raife an authority capable of balancing the overbearing spirit of the senate 25;

whence

²⁵ To fuch a balance Plato feems to refer where he calls the fenate and the college of Ephors Φάρμακον της βασιλικής άρχης ештири. Epift. 8. p. 354. t. 3.

whence perhaps the faying reported of him, on Plutareh. being reproached for transmitting the regal au- Apoph. thority diminished to his posterity, ' that on the contrary he should transmit it greater, inasmuch 'as he should transmit it firmer.'

The ephors were five in number, elected from Ariffot. the people and by the people; and the purpose 2. c. 9. of their office was at first meerly to preserve to Plutarch. the people their constitutional rights against any & Age attempts of the kings or fenate. The tribunes & Cleoof Rome afterward, in the cause of their appointment, in the purpose of their office, in their original powers and privileges, and in what they by degrees affumed, very remarkably resembled the Spartan ephors; and the history of both goes strongly to prove the inherent impotence of the antient democracy, which, in two of the best constituted commonwealths of antiquity, unable to maintain its own rights, was reduced to the abfurd necessity of creating and supporting a tyrannical magistracy to defend them.

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CHAPTER V.

Summary View of the state of the Northern Provinces of GREECE, and of the establishment of the early GRECIAN Colonies; with the History of ATHENS, from the TROJAN WAR to the first public Tranfaction with Persia.

SECTION I.

View of the State of the Northern Provinces of Greece after the Trojan War. History of Athens from the Trojan War to the Abolition of Royalty, and the Appointment of Hereditary Archons,

WHILE Lacedæmon, partly through the internal vigor of its fingular conftitution, partly by conquest, was raising itself to a preeminence among the Grecian states, which, since the expulsion of the princes of the house of Pelops from the throne of Argos, none had obtained, a rival power, of very different character and very different institutions, was more filently growing without Peloponnesus. But the divisions, whence arose the weakness and insignificancy of the other Grecian people, were

were among the circumstances principally con- SECT. tributing to fet Lacedæmon and Athens at the head of the nation. During some centuries after the Trojan war, we have no history of the northern provinces, beyond confused accounts of migrations and expulsions, which were frequent, and predatory wars, which were almost unceasing. The principal revolution, of which B. C. we are informed, was effected by the Bœotians, a Theffalian people; who, according to Thucydides, about fixty years after the Trojan war, migrating fouthward, joined fome of their own Thucyd. tribe before fettled in the neighbourhood of 1. 1. c. 12. Thebes, and, overpowering the Cadmeians, became masters of the whole province, from themfelves called BOEOTIA. Thebes which, as Ho-, Schol. ad mer feems to indicate, had been much reduced v. 505. 1. by the wars preceding the Trojan times, became the principal feat of the Bœotians; and under them recovered some share of its antient importance.

But the history of Bœotia, to a late period, remarkably verifies an observation of the great poet upon its circumstances at a very early day. that none could live there without the protection of fortifications'. Military spirit is a plant naturally flourishing in almost every bar-

Mentioning the building of the walls of Thebes by Zethus and Amphion, he adds:

baric foil. Political wifdom, without which

- Έπει ου με απύργωτον γ' εδύναντο Ναιέμεν ἐυρύχορον Θήθην, κρατιρώ περ ἐόντε.

Odyff. 1. 16. v. 264.

military

CHAP. military spirit is of very uncertain worth, requires much and careful culture, and, even in circumstances the most favorable, is of slow growth. The Bœotians could conquer, but they knew not how to legislate: they could fourn the tyranny of one, but they knew not how to establish the equal liberty of all. the country which they had subdued, Thebes, by its central fituation, the natural strength of the eminence on which stood the citadel, the largeness of the town, its copious springs of purest water, and the fruitfulness of the furrounding plain, invited the refidence of the chiefs; who proposed thence to rule the other towns, in which they fettled their followers. But the rich acquisition, which had been made by arms, was not without arms to be preserved: the whole people must be still military; and every township must suffice for its own protection, at least against sudden attacks from near neigbours, against whose spirit of war and rapine military force only could give fecurity. With fuch necessary military power, fome civil power must be allowed for the internal government of each municipality. The difficulty then, the universal difficulty of Grecian legislation, was to provide advantageous bonds by which all should be united, fo that each might be protected by the strength of all, yet all be free.

> We are very imperfectly informed of the Bœotian constitution, yet we learn with certainty that it was unequal to its purpose. Eleven magistrates,

Thucyd. 1. 3. c. 61.

Thucyd. 1. 4. c. 91.

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(when Thucydides wrote) prefided, with the title SECT. of Bocotarch, over the affairs of the whole people. Afterward, if we may trust our copies of Pau- Paufan. I. fanias, they were only feven. Perhaps the number varied, as the power of Thebes role or funk, or as the smaller towns suffered or successfully refisted oppression. The election of these great officers was annual; their authority, like that of the kings of old, principally military; they commanded in chief the Bootian armies. The political administration was also Thueyd. in their hands, but under the controul of four 1. 5. c. 37councils; how constituted we are not informed. nor whether they possessed legislative as well as administrative power. Deputies from all the Bœotian towns fometimes met in one affembly, where the Bœotarchs prefided; but this feems to have been rather convened on extraordinary occasions, than a permanent or periodical council, for transacting ordinary business, whether of administration or legislation. In general every town legislated for itself. All were thus truly separate republics; and while Thebes al- Herod. L. ways claimed a right of prefidency, at least of 6. c. 108. military prefidency, a kind of protectorship, 1. 3. c. 6s. over all, the rest would often insist that each was united with the others only by voluntary league, and competent to decide for itself concerning all its forein interests, as well as its internal administration. All the towns of Boeotia, not less than of the rest of Greece, were divided between an oligarchal and a democratical party; but the oligarchal mostly prevailing

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CHAP. in Thebes, the influence of that leading city fufficed long to give a general preponderancy to oligarchy in Bœotian politics.

Such is the picture which remaining memorials give of the state of Boeotia, from the Theffalian conquest downward for centuries; and, in the want of more particular accounts, it may ferve to convey a general idea of the state of the other provinces north of the isthmus; each divided into little felf-governed townships; each distracted between an oligarchal and a democratical party, with fome connection maintained throughout the whole, but mostly still more defective than that of Bœotia. THESSALY, by the extent and richness of its territory, should have carried the greatest political importance of perhaps any province of The whole country besides could not raife fuch a force of cavalry; and no other province, by the superiority of its produce to its confumption, could equally support expensive establishments, and maintain distant warfare. But Theffaly was divided, and fubdivided, into little governments, yet more than Bœotia, with connecting institutions even more defective. Thus the history of its people is reduced to confused accounts of conquest, of which no detail remains, over the northern inhabitants of their own country, the Perrhæbians and Magnetes, and of eternal predatory war with the Phocians their fouthern neighbours; whence arose a national animosity that nearly involved

Thucyd. Herod. 1. feq.

the fubjugation of all Greece, when affailed, SECT. as will be hereafter related by a forein enemy.

We have already observed the favorable circumstances by which ATHENS became early populous and polifhed beyond the other Grecian cities. From the time of the Trojan war till after the Dorian conquests in Peloponnesus, it affords nothing important for history. But fuch a revolution as that effected by the Heracleids could not be without material confequences to a neighbouring state. The Athenian territory at that time extended to the Corinthian isthmus; where, to mark the limits, a pillar Strab. 1. had been erected, on one fide of which was in- 9. P. 392. graved, 'This is Peloponnesus, not Ionia,' for fo Attica was then called: on the other fide, 'This is not Peloponnesus but Ionia.' But the people of the peninfula itself, throughout the province that firetches along the coast westward from the ishmus, were of Ionian race. When Tisamenus, with his Achaian followers from Argos and Lacedæmon, had procured fecurity to this country against the Heracleids, its narrow bounds were found unequal to the increased population: the new comers prevailed against the antient possessors, and the Ionian families were mostly compelled to emigrate. Athens, always hospitable to the unfortunate, amid those extensive troubles through Peloponnesus, would abundantly attract refugees. Not only the Æ- Strab.1.9. gialian Ionians, but many Messenians also, un- P. 393. & der Melanthus king of Pylus, reforted thither. 633. The Athenians were then ingaged in war with Vol. I. Bœotia:

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Beeotia; and on this account, and perhaps through fome dread also of the conquering Dorians, were the more folicitous to accommodate all that offered, as an addition of ftrength The charity was not unproto the flate. ductive of reciprocal benefit. For the armies of Athens and Bootia meeting, the Bootian king proposed to decide the matter in dispute between the two states by fingle combat between himself and Thymoetes, then king of Athens. Thymætes, probably knowing himfelf inferior in bodily strength and agility, declined the Strab.1.9. challenge. But the temper of the times was favorable to that mode of deciding political 1. 5. c. 65. Paufan. 1. controversies 2. Melanthus therefore, the Meffenian prince, who had his fortune to feek, offered himfelf for champion of the Athenians, and was accepted: he was victorious, and the scepter of Athens was his reward. Thymætes was deposed, and with him ended the succession of the family of Thefeus.

> Tradition is little accurate concerning a war which followed between the Athenians and Peloponnesians. But a conquering people is commonly an overbearing people; the protection given by Athens to the refugees from Peloponnefus would afford pretence; and the Dorians, we find, foon after their establishment in the peninfula, made incroachments on the Athenian

frontier,

² In the return of the Heracleids, according to Strabo, the possession of Eleia was so determined xarà sos 71 wadaid the Έλληνων. Strab. 1. 8. p. 357.

frontier, and founded the town of Megara on the northern coast of the Saronic gulph. When Codrus succeeded his father Melanthus in the strab. 1. kingdom of Attica, Megara feems to have been 9. P. 393. already firmly fettled. Hostilities however continued, or were recommenced; and fo large affiftance came to the Megarians from Peloponnesus, that Athens itself was threatened with While the hostile armies were infubversion. camped fo near together that a battle appeared unavoidable, the Delphian oracle was confulted Lycurg. about the event. The answer of the Pythoness or. con. was understood to import that the Peloponne- Pausan. I. fians would be victorious, provided they did vell. Panot kill the Athenian king. This response terc. l. r. being promulgated, Codrus, in the heroic spirit Justin. 1. of the age, determined to devote his life for the 2. c. 6. good of his country. Difguifing himfelf in the habit of a peafant, with a faggot on his shoulder, and a hook in his hand, he entered the enemy's camp. Observing in one part a croud of foldiers, he pushed in among them; words arose; he struck a foldier with his hook; the foldier retorted with his fword, and Codrus was killed. Inquiry being prefently made about the tumult, the body was found to be that of the king of Athens; upon which the Peloponnesian chiefs, dreading the accomplishment of the oracle to their overthrow, hastily withdrew their forces into Pelopponnesus. A peace with Megara feems to have followed 3.

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B. C. 804. N. B. C. 1070.

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³ The spot where Codrus was killed was preserved in memory, C c 2

CHAP.

Paufan. 1.

Schol. in Ariftoph.

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The death of Codrus, while it thus fortunately delivered Athens from the dangers of forein war, was the immediate cause of internal sedition, threatening nearly equal evils. eldest fon of Codrus, was lame; and bodily ability still held that high rank in popular estimation, that his younger brother made advantage of this defect to dispute the succession with him. Each found strong support: but the contention brought forward a third party still stronger, which was for excluding both, declaring they would have no king but Jupiter. The most fatal consequences were to be apprehended, when fortunately a declaration of the Delphian oracle was procured in favor of Medon, and the bufiness was amicably accommodated. It was determined that, after Codrus. who had merited fo fingularly of his country. none ought to be honored with a title of which it was impossible for any living man to be comparatively worthy: that, however, Medon should be first magistrate of the commonwealth; with the title of Archon, chief, or prince; and that this honor should remain hereditary in his family; but that the Archon should be accountable to the affembly of the people for due ad-

or pretended to be preserved, in the time of Pausanias, and shown near the altar of the Muses on the bank of the Ilissus, opposite to the temple of Diana Agrotera, whose ruins yet remain on the other bank. Pausan. 1. 1. c. 19. Sir George Wheeler's Journey into Greece, and Stuart's Antiquities of Athens.

ministration of his high office. And as Attica then, through the multitude of refugees, over-

abounded

abounded with inhabitants, it was agreed that Herodot. a colony should be fent to Asia Minor, of which Strab. 1. Androclus and Neleus, younger fons of Codrus, 14-p. 632, should be leaders. Thus was internal quiet re- 640. ftored to Athens as happily as external peace. Paufan. 1. The restless spirits mostly joined in the migration: the storm of contending factions difperfed: and the affairs of the commonwealth flowed fo fmoothly for fome generations after, that no materials for history remain. The again 1664 that fact stratter inhabits

Capital Subsection and Language of the Control of t SECTION IL

Of the Æolic and Ionic Migrations, and of the Establishment of Grecian Colonies in Asia Minor, Thrace, Cyprus, Africa, Sicily, and Italy.

WHILE Athens thus was injoying repofe, and the ambition of Lacedæmonian was yet confined within the narrow bounds of Peloponnefus, the theater of Grecian action, or, we may fay, Greece itself, was expanding very greatly, through those numerous colonies which were poured forth in every direction. Of the Grecian ilands, Crete almost alone has occurred hitherto as an object of history. The other ilands of the Ægean were antiently held, and perhaps originally, some by Phenicians, but most by Thueyd. the people called Leleges, a branch, apparently, & 8. of the Pelafgian hord, who, as well as the Phe- Herodot. nicians, exercifed continual piracy. Minos Strab. 1. king of Crete expelled both, and planted co- 12. p. 572.

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& l. 14. p. lonies 661.

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CHAP. lonies of his own people in their room. Afterward the power of the Cretan kings decaying, fome of those ilands became independent, and others were variously subjected. Eubœa, one of the largest and most valuable in the Grecian feas, never probably was under the dominion of the Cretan kings, and indeed was fcarcely in the circumstances of an iland; being separated from the coast of Bœotia by a channel so narrow and shallow that it is in effect an adjoining peninfula. While the Ionic Pelafgians of Attica fpred fouthward into Peloponnesus, they had also extended their fettlements northward into this iland, where Chalcis and Eretria are faid to have been Athenian colonies before the Trojan war. Those two cities, the diffinct governments, yet maintained fuch close alliance 10. p. 447, as to form almost one state, and became very flourishing. They held the neighbouring ilands of Andros, Tenos, and Ceos in Subjection: they extended the Grecian name northward by planting the peninfulas of Pallene and Athos, together with the territory around Olynthus on the confines of Thrace and Macedonia; and they established colonies in Italy and Sicily.

Wood on Homer.

Strab. 1.

It has been supposed by some authors, but apparently without good grounds, that, before the Trojan war, migrations had been made from Greece to Asia Minor. We have seen that the earliest known people of the western parts of that country differed little in origin or in language from the inhabitants of Greece; and fome of the towns on the coast were held by people

Chap. 1. fect. 4. of this hift. people so unquestionably Grecian, at so early a SECT. period, that the antiquarians of aftertimes, unwilling to allow anything to be Greek that did not originate from Greece, were at a loss to account for their establishment. Miletus, mentioned by Homer in his catalogue, and Teos. and Smyrna, are faid by Strabo to have been Strab. 1. Grecian towns before the Trojan war. But the 633, & great Æolic and Ionic migrations made a com- 634. plete revolution in the state of that fine coun- 7. c. 2. try, and gave it almost intirely a new people. Of those extraordinary and important events no antient author has left any complete account. It must, therefore, be endeavoured to connect the scattered information remaining from writers of best authority, among whom Strabo will be our principal guide.

Not the prosperity but the troubles and misfortunes of the country gave origin to the principal colonies from Greece. The ÆOLIC MIGRA-TION was an immediate confequence of the conquest of Peloponnesus by the Heracleids. Pen- Smal. 1, thilus, one of the fons of Orestes, took refuge 1. 10. p. upon that occasion in Eubœa, whither multi- 447.1. 13. tudes of Peloponnesians followed: Many of P. 583. L thefe found fettlements there; but the larger 2. C. 2. number, joined by a powerful body of Bootians, passed with their prince into Thrace. He dying, his fon Echelatus led the colony across the Hellespont, and made himself master of Troy; putting then, it is supposed, a final pe- Wood on riod to that unfortunate city, and to the name of Homer. its people. In the mean time Cleues and Malaiis.

13. P. 582.

Strab. 1. 13. p. 586.

Strab. 1. also of the race of Agamemnon, had affembled a number of Peloponnesian fugitives on mount Phricius in Locris, near Thermopylæ; and, passing thence to Asia Minor, founded the town of Cuma. Thus the whole coast, from Cyzicus on the Propontis to the river Hermus, together with the iland of Lesbes, conquered by Grais fon of Echelatus, became fettled by Peloponnesians and Bosotians, and received the name of Eolis or Rolia. An affembly at Cuma for a common facrifice, but, as far as appears, without any professed political object, assisted to support some little connection between the

Æolian cities, here we have bed in relative the at 1

Herodot. 1. I. C. 149, & 157

Herodot. 14. P. 632, 633. 7. C. 2. Ælian.

1. 8. c. 5.

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The great Ionic MIGRATION took place fomewhat later, but produced colonies yet more flourishing. It was led from Athens by An-1. 9. c. 97. droclus and Neleus, younger fons of Codrus, upon the occasion, already mentioned, of the Paufan. 1. determination of the succession to the archonship in favor of Medon. A great multitude followed; Var. Hift. many Athenians, and almost all the Ionian and Messenian families which the Dorian conquest had driven for refuge to Athens. They feized the finest part of the coast of Asia Minor, and, according to Herodotus, the finest country under the most favorable climate in the world: extending from the river Hermus fouthward to the headland of Posideion, and including the ilands of Chios and Samos. The Carian inhabitants were expelled, the Grecian were affociated: and twelve cities were founded, which became all very confiderable: Ephefus, Miletus.

Miletus, Myus, Lebedos, Colophon, Priene, SECT. Teos, Erythræ, Phocæa, Clazomenæ, Chios, and Samos; to which was afterward added Smyrna, acquired from the Æolians. Androclus fixed his residence at Ephesus, Neleus at Miletus. The authority of the former is faid, by Strabo, to have extended over all the fettlements. But monarchal was early superseded by republican government, with the claim of feparate fovereinty by every municipal administration. A confederacy, however, apparently better established than the Æolian, connected the Ionian cities, with a regular general council called Panionium. The territory thus acquired on the continent of Asia Minor, scarcely anywhere perhaps extending forty miles from the coast up the country, was, however, in length from the north of Æolis to the fouth of Ionia.

near four hundred. -Still the Greeks acquired fettlements fouthward of this tract, within the bounds of that corner of Asia which the great migrations had left to the Carians, genuine descendants of the Herodot. Leleges, and which retained the name of Caria. L. 1. C. 171.
Herodot. Here the Træzenians founded Helicarnassus, 1.7. c. 99. which became much more confiderable than Strab. f. the parent city. The adjacent iland of Rhodes Strab. I. had been very early occupied by people of 14-p.653. Grecian race, some from Crete, it is faid, some from Theffaly: and Homer relates, that Tle- Iliad. 1. polemus, fon of Hercules, carried a colony 2. v. 674thither from Argos, and afterward joined in the expedition against Troy. The great poet celebrates

Strab. 1. 14. p. 652, 655.

Herod. 1. 7. C. 99.

CHAP. celebrates the power and wealth of Rhodes. In his time if was divided between three independent states, which were not till some centuries after united, when the city of Rhodes was built, in a very advantageous fituation, for a common capital of the iland. A happy fyftem of government prevailed: people of higher rank alone directed public affairs, but provision was made for the welfare and fecurity of all. Hence Rhodes long flourished in commerce, arts, and arms, and extended its dominion over a confiderable territory upon the neighbouring continent. The Halicarnassians, on the contrary, held Cos, with some smaller ilands, in subjection. Rhodes and Halicarnasfus were the two principal of the Asiatic Grecian states whose people called themselves Do-RIANS. These, like the Æolians, had a common facrifice, for which a meeting was held at the promontory of Triopium, and as the Æolian, their political connection was very imperfect.

The northern coast of the Ægean sea was not fuccefsfully and permanently fettled by people from Greece fo early as the eastern. It was, however, still an early period when, beside the acquifitions already mentioned of the Eubœans, Herodot, all the best situations on the THRACIAN coast 1. 2. c. 33. of the Ægean, and on both shores of the Pro-

&1, 4. c. 12.

PONTIS.

⁴ Strabo is warm in eulogy of the Rhodian government; Davuarn n evopia, he fays. But his phrase to express its character is particularly remarkable: Announding & nois & Podios, xalπερ ου δημοκρατούμενοι. 1. 14. p. 652.

PONTIS, were possessed by Greeks, and some SECT. establishments were made far in the EUXINE fea. MACEDONIA, occupied by a colony from Argos, under a leader of the family of Temenus the Heracleid, will require more particular notice hereafter.

·But these were not the most distant, or the most extraordinary of the Grecian acquisitions in those remote ages. Poetical tradition fays, Pindar. and the most judicious Grecian writers adopted Nem. 4. the report, that, shortly after the Trojan war, Nicocles. Teucer, fon of Telamon and brother of the Strab. 1. celebrated Ajax, leading a colony from the 14-p.683. little iland of Salamis on the coast of Attica, founded the city of Salamis in Cyprus. Unquestionably Cyprus was very early settled by Greeks. It had still earlier been occupied by the Phenicians, from whom it derived that Herodot. worship of the goddess Venus, originally a l.r.c.105. Syrian goddess, for which it became early and Odyst. 1.8. continued long remarkable. Cyprus was then Strab. 1. wooded like the uncleared parts of America. 14-P.684. The Phenicians therefore, who, through their fuperiority in arts and manufactures, found more immediate profit in trading to inhabited countries than in planting the uninhabited, feem not to have been averse to the establishment of Greek adventurers there. On the contrary the overabundance of wood and the confequent fcarcity of people were esteemed fuch inconveniences, and the value of foil covered with wood was fo trifling, that it was long customary to give lands to any who would

clear

CHAP. clear them. Colony therefore followed colony, from Laconia, from Argos, from Athens, and fome other parts. Thus in time Cyprus became completely a Grecian iland; and, from being an object for nothing but its ship-timber and its copper-mines, was made a rich and populous country, fruitful in corn, and famous for the excellence and abundance of its wines and oil. It was however, in early times, divided into too many little states for any one to become confiderable; and these fell mostly under that reprobated fort of monarchy which the Greeks denominated tyranny.

Herodot. & 155. Strab. 1. 10. p. 448. \$37

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Among the most fouthern of that cluster of 1.4.c.147. little ilands in the Ægean fea, called the Cyclades, is Thera, planted at an early period by &1.17. p. a colony from Lacedæmon. This little iland also fent out its colony: the city of Cyrenë in Ol.37.3. Africa originated thence; and through the excellence of its foil, the opportunity of ex-N. & B. tending its territory, the convenience of its fituation for commerce, and the advantage of its climate for productions valuable in exchange, Cyrenë rofe to an importance impoffible for the mother-country ever to attain. Its horses, of Arabian breed, by their victories on the course of Olympia, procured celebrity to their owners and their country from the pen of Pindar; whose extant works bear testimony to the early wealth of Cyrene, and to the largeness of the towns that arose from it over that part of Africa which became diftinguished by the name of the Cyrenaïc. Barca, afterward called

Pindar. Pyth. 4. & 5. & 9.

called Ptolemais, became early a confiderable SECT.

independent commonwealth.

Thus great and thus widely fored were the early Grecian colonies eaftward, northward, and fouthward; and yet they were exceeded, in hiftorical importance at least, by those planted toward the west. ITALY and SICILY were, in Strab. 1. Homer's time, scarcely known but by name. 6. p. 267. They were regions of imaginary monsters and real favages; and the great poet has described these as accurately, as he has painted those fancifully. 'Neither plowing nor fowing,' he odyf. 1. 9. fays, 'they feed on the spontaneous productions v. 108. of the foil. They have no affemblies for public debate; no magistrates to inforce laws; one common concerns of any kind: but they dwell in caverns on mountain-tops; and every one is magistrate and lawgiver to his own ' family.' The calamities and various confufion insuing from the Trojan war are said to have occasioned the first Grecian migrations to those countries. This appears highly probable, tho we should not implicitly believe the traditions which name the leaders and the spots on which they feverally fettled. But while we doubt whether Diomed, after having established Strab. 1. colonies of his followers in Arpi, Canufium, 6. p. 283, and Sipontum in Apulia, really penetrated to Virg. An. the bottom of the Adriatic gulph, and became Strab. ut mafter of the country about the mouth of the fup. & I. Po; whether Pifa in Tufcany was built by Id. 1. 5. p. those Peloponnesian Pisæans who had followed 222. Neftor to the fiege of Troy; and whether, as 1,10.V.180

1.10, V.28.

report fays, at a still earlier day, the Arcadian 5. p. 230. Evander founded that village on the bank of 1.8. v. 51, the Tiber, which afterward became Rome; still 313, 336. we learn with unconditional. we learn with unquestionable certainty that, if these were not facts, yet Grecian colonies were fettled in various parts of Italy at a very early period: fo early, that tho we can trace them very high, yet their origin lies beyond all means

Strab. 1. 5. P. 243.

of investigation. The reputation was hence acquired by Cuma, on the Campanian coast, of being the oldest of all the Grecian towns-both in Italy and Sicily; because it could with the greatest certainty refer its foundation to the remotest era. It was a colony led by Megasthenes Strab.ibid and Hippocles from Chalcis and Cuma in Eu-

Vel. Paterc. l. I. C. 4.

bœa, not a great while, according to Velleius Paterculus, after the founding of those towns by the Athenians. The Campanian Cuma profpered and fent out its own colonies: Naples is among its offspring.

One flourishing fettlement in this inviting

country would greatly incourage farther adventures. The Chalcidians of Eubæa, we are told, finding, at a following period, their population too great for their territory, confulted the Delphian oracle. The Pythoness directed them to decimate their whole people, and fend a tenth to found a colony. It happened that fome of the principal Messenians, of those who had fled their country after the first war with Lacedæmon, were at the fame time at Delphi to ask advice of the god. The managers of the

oracle commanded them to join in the adven-

Strab. 1. 6. p. 257.

ture

ture with the decimated Chalcidians. Both SECT. parties were pleased with the order; and chufing for their leader a Messenian of the Heracleid family, they founded Rhegium on the fouthern point of Italy, which became a flourishing and powerful state. Not long after, Tarentum was founded by Lacedæmonians; Strab.1.6. Locri Epizephyrii, and Medama, by Locrians from Criffa; Scylleticum, afterward called Scyllacium, by Athenians; Crotona, and Sybaris, from whose ruin rose Thurium, by Achaians; Salentum and Brundusium by Cretans. Some of these had many inferior towns within their territory; and in the end full half the coast of Italy came into the possession of Greeks; whose posterity, and even whose language, mixed indeed and degenerated amid the various and violent revolutions which, in the courfe of fo many centuries, the country has undergone, retain notwithstanding in some parts much of their original character to this day.

While the coasts of Italy thus became Grecian ground, fettlements were made with equal or fuperior fuccess in SICILY. Thucydides informs us that the name by which that iland Thucyd. first became known to the Greeks, was Trina- 1.6.c. 2. cria; and that the first inhabitants, concerning whom any tradition reached them, were the Cyclopes and Læstrigons; whose history however, with his usual judgement, he professes to leave to the poets. The Sicans, from whom it acquired the name of Sicania, he supposes to

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Thucyd. 1. 6. c. 2.

CHAP. have passed from Spain; driven from their fettlements there by the Ligurians. Afterward the Sicels, forced by fimilar violence from their native Italy, wrested from the Sicans the greatest and best part of the iland, and fixed upon it that name which it still retains. At a very early period the Phenicians had established, in some of the most secure situations around the coast, not colonies, but factories, for themeet purposes of trade; and probably less the uninfluenced violence of the barbarous natives, than Phenician policy directing that violence, has given occasion to those reports, so much cultivated by the poets, of giants and monsters peculiar to Sicily. No Grecian trader dared venture thither: but some Phocian foldiers, in returning from the fiege of Troy, being driven by stress of weather to the coast of Africa, and unable, in the imperfection of navigation, thence directly to reach Greece, croffed to the Sicilian coaft. It happened that there they fell in with fome Trojans, who, after the overthrow of their city, had wandered thus far in quest of a fettlement. Brotherhood in distress united them; they found means to make alliance with the Sicans in the western part of the iland; and, establishing themselves there, Trojans,

> Greeks, and Sicans formed together a new people, who acquired the new name of Elymians. The strong holds of Eryx and Egesta, or, as it was called by the Romans, Segesta; be-

came their principal towns.

the many of bearing he largester to

Strab. 1. 6. p. 267.

Thucyd. 1. 6. c. 2. Strab, 1. 6. p. 272. Plut. vit. Nic. init.

discount.

SYEM

It was, according to Ephorus, as he is quoted by Strabo, in the next age, or generation, Strab. 1. after this event, that Theocles or Thucles, an Athenian, being driven, also by stress of weather, on the eastern coast of the iland, had opportunity to observe how little formidable the barbarous inhabitants in that part really were. as well as how inviting the foil and climate. On his return he endeavoured to procure the Thucyd. authority of the Athenian government for efta- 1.6. c. 3. Strab. ut blishing a colony there; but, not succeeding, sup. he went to Chalcis in Eubœa, where his proposal was more favorably received. Many Chalcidians ingaged in the adventure. incouraged, many from other parts of Greece joined them; and, under the conduct of Thucles. they founded Naxus, the first Grecian town of

A prosperous beginning, here, as in Italy, invited more attempts. It was, according to Thucyd. Thucydides, in the very next year after the ut sup. founding of Naxus, that Archias, a Corinthian of Heracleid race, led a colony to Sicily. To the fouthward of Naxus, but still on the eastern coast, he found a territory of uncommon fertility, with a harbour fingularly fafe and commodious. Within the harbour, and barely de- Strab. I. tached from the shore, was an iland, about two 6. p. 270. miles in circumference, plentifully watered by burne's that remarkable fountain, which, through the Sic. v. 2. poets chiefly, has acquired renown by the name p. 327.
Mofchus. of Arethufa. From this advantageous post he Eidyll. &. expelled the Sicels, and founded there the city VOL. I. Dd which

B. C. about 650. N. Ol. 12.1. B. C. 732. B.

Thucvd. 1. 6. c. 4.

CHAP. which became the great and celebrated Syracuse. Meanwhile Naxus so increased and flourished, that, in the fixth year only from its foundation, its people, still under the conduct of Thucles, driving the Sicels before them, founded first Leontium, and soon after Catana. About the fame time a new colony from Megara, under Lamis, founded the Hyblæan Megara. It was not till above forty years after. that any fettlement was attempted on the fouthern coast, when a united colony of Rhodians and Cretans founded Gela. But the fuperiority of the Greek nation in Sicily was already decided; and Tauromenium, Selinus, Himera, Acræ, Casmenæ, Camarinæ, Acragas, called by the Romans Agrigentum, and Zancle, afterward named Messena, became confiderable cities, mostly colonies from those before founded in that iland or in Italy. The interior of both countries remained to the former race of Lhucydides. in the ver inhabitants.

Strab. 1.6. p. 270.

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It is indeed remarkable that the Greeks feem never to have coveted inland territories: their active temper led them always to maritime fituations; and if driven from these, they fought still others of the same kind, however remote from their native country, rather than be excluded from the means which the fea affords for communication with all the world. Accordingly the Italian and Sicilian Greeks (whose possessions were so extended as to acquire the name of Great Greece) and not less the African colonies, maintained conftant intercourse with .L.do the

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the country of their forefathers: particularly Pindar. they frequented the Olympian games, the great passim. meeting for all people of Grecian race. Still greater advantages perhaps were derived from Herodot. the yet more intimate communication main- & 1.3. c. 138, tained by some of them with the Asiatic colo- 21. nies: for there Grecian art and science first rose to splendor: there Grecian philosophy had its birth, and from the iland of Samos on the Strab. I. Afiatic coast the great Pythagoras came and 6. p. 263. fettled at Crotona in Italy. Thus the colonies in general advanced nearly equally in improvements of art, science, and civilization, and fometimes went even before the mother-country. The first system of laws committed to Strab. I. writing among the Greeks, according to Strabo, 6. p. 259. was the celebrated code of the Epizephyrian Locrians, composed by Zaleucus; and scarcely any had greater fame, none was more exten- Ariflot. fively adopted, than that of the Catanian law- C. 12. giver Charondas. The political institutions of Strab, l. Zaleucus, were, according to Ephorus, as he 12. p. 539. is cited by Strabo, principally taken from those of Crete and Lacedæmon; the criminal law from the practice of the court of Areiopagus at Athens. It is faid to have had the merit of Strab. I. being the first among the Greeks that secured 6. p. 260. the accused against the caprice of judges, by stating the penalty for every transgression; and his fystem all together was admired for the general eafiness of its application, upon liberal principles, to all possible occurrences. His Did 2 religious

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CHAP. religious and moral precepts, always an effential part of the fystem of every early lawgiver, if we might give any credit to the disputed ac-

l. 12. c. 20, 24.

Diod. Sic. count of Diodorus, had very superior merit 5, Few of the Grecian colonies were founded

Paufan. 1. 4. C. 23. Herod. l. 6. c. 17.

Strab. 1.

Plat. de

with any view to extend the dominion of the mother-country. Often the leaders were no more than pirates, not unlike the buccaneers of modern times. On a favage coast they seized a convenient port, fet flaves to cultivate the adjoining lands, and themselves continued their cruises. But when a state by a public act sent out a colony, the purpose was generally no 4. p. 158. more than to deliver itself from numbers too Leg. 1. 5. great for its territory, or from factious men, P-735. t. 2. whose means of power at home were unequal to Thucyd. l. 1. c. 38, their ambition. Corinth, however, early, and in later times Athens, had fometimes farther views. Possessing naval force, they could give protection and exact obedience; of which the Grecian commonwealths in general could do neither. For the most part, therefore, in the colonies, as in Greece itself, every considerable

Plat. de rep. l. 10. p. 599. t. 2.

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⁵ The age of these lawgivers is very uncertain. Aristotle mentions it as reported that Charondas was fellow-disciple of the Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus, under the Cretan Thales, and that Zaleucus studied under Charondas. Polit. 1. 2. c. 13. The inaccurate Diodorus, on the contrary, without helitation, makes Charondas cotemporary with Pericles. It feems nevertheless unlikely that his age was fo remote as Aristotle's report would make it. His reputation however was fuch among the Sicilian and Italian Greeks that Plato does not scruple to rank him with Solon: Xapundar pir yap Iradia nat Dinedia, nat spesis Dodora (νομεθέλην άγαθὸγ γεγονέναι καὶ σφᾶς ωφιληκέναι ἀιλᾶται.)

town claimed to be an independent state; and, sunless oppressed by a powerful neighbour, maintained itself by its own strength and its alliances.

SECT-

SECTION III.

History of Athens from the Abolition of Royalty to the Legislation of Solon.

HAVING thus briefly furveyed the extensive and important acquisitions of the Greek nation in various forein parts, we return to Athens. We have heretofore had occasion to observe that all the traditions of the Greeks, concerning the early history of their country, bear strong marks, if not of accuracy, yet at least of honesty. Even those ages distinguished by the epithets poetical, fabulous, and heroic, are far from abounding with matter of flattery to the Greek nation. Homer's perfect impartiality is perhaps among the greatest wonders of his works: and from the period when his history ceases, to that in which the first prose historians lived, a space of at least two centuries and a half, we find absolutely nothing of what the character of vanity, fo liberally attributed to the Greek nation, might lead us to expect. It is an observation of Sallust that the actions of the Athenians, really great, nevertheless owe their superior reputation much to the superior manner in which their historians have related them,

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CHAP. But those celebrated actions of the Athenians did not begin till the eyes of many inlightened and jealous people were upon them. mote period of their history where invention, fecure from conviction, might riot in flattery, is remarkably barren of circumstances flattering to the nation. Cecrops, their first hero, was no Athenian; even their favorite Theseus was not born in their country: Codrus was a Peloponnesian; and, with Codrus, heroism in the antient stile ended. Here appears a striking difference between the histories of Greece and of Rome. The first accounts of Greece present us with a people inferior to the inhabitants of other known countries, looking up with reverence to any strangers who would do them the honor to come among them. After the times of the hydras, chimeras, flying horses, fea-monsters, and other mythological extravagancies, the hero whose actions remain recorded as most extraordinary, is Aristomenes; whose memory was cherished as the solace of an unfortunate people, while their conquerors, become the most powerful of the Greeks, have attributed no remarkable celebrity to any of their great men of the same age; but have left unquestionable victories to speak for themselves by their effects only. But the history of Rome, from the establishment of the consulate, is made up of gross flattery to the people at large, and to the great families in particular, till it became, in too notorious reality, a difgrace to human nature. I would not depreciate the just merit

merit of the Romans. If we had no history of SECT. Rome from the time when it was facked by the Gauls to the time when it ruined Carthage, still we should be certain that, in that interval, it must have produced not a few, but a whole people of great men. It is the history only, and not the people of Greece and Rome, that I mean at prefent to compare. In confequence of the modest veracity of the Attic historians, Athens is almost without history for some generations after the death of Codrus. The few objects occurring are not matter of boaft. Twelve archons are named, who followed Medon by hereditary fuccession; and the vanity of aftertimes has not ascribed to any one of them, or to any one man under their government, a memorable action; tho, according to Blair's chronology, the reigns of the thirteen were of no less than three hundred and fixteen years, from the year before Christ one thousand and seventy to the year feven hundred and fifty-four. Newton, who places the death of Codrus only eight hundred and four years before Christ, makes the interval to the death of Alcmæon, the thirteenth archon, no more than one hundred and fifty-feven. It may not be absolutely useless to lay before the reader the barren lift of names, which the investigators of Attic antiquities have. preserved, as of persons who, under the title of king or archon, reigned in Attica from earliest traditions to this period. He will judge whether inventive posterity has attributed to them an improbable proportion of brilliant atchieve-

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ments. Ogyges is mentioned as a prince who reigned at a time beyond connected tradition. After an undetermined interval, the next named is the Egyptian Cecrops. To him succeeded Cranaüs, Amphictyon, Erechtheus, Pandion, Ægeus, Theseus, Menestheus, Demophoon, Oxyntes, Aphidas, Thymætes, Melanthus, Codrus, Medon, Acastus, Archippus, Thersippus, Phorbas, Megacles, Diognetus, Pherecles, Ariphron, Thespicus, Agamesto, Æschylus, Alemæon. Some writers have supposed three kings more between Amphictyon and Ægeus; making a fecond Cecrops, a fecond Pandion, and a second Erechtheus; or calling the first Erich-A recolution of the score thonius. During the reigns of the hereditary archons,

unless from the incidental mention by Strabo of the accession of Athens to the Calaurean league. of which fome account has already been given, we do not learn that the Athenians had any transactions with other people. The next important occurrence in their history is a farther change in the constitution. On the death of Alemaon, Charops was raifed to the archon. 647. N. ship upon condition of holding it for ten years only. Six archons followed Charops by ap-753. B. pointment for ten years. But, on the expira-Ol. 43.2. tion of the archonship of Eryxias, a farther and greater change was made: it was resolved that 607. N. the office should be annual, and that instead of Ol. 24.1' one, its duties should be divided among nine perfons. These were to be appointed by lot, out of B. the first order of the state, the eupatrids or nobles,

bles, only, All bore the title of Archon, but SECT.

they differed in dignity and in function. One principally represented the majesty of the state: by his name the year of his magistracy was distinguished; whence he was sometimes called Archon Eponymus, but more usually he was intitled simply the Archon. The second in rank had the title of King. He was head of the religion of the commonwealth, to which principally the peculiar functions of his dignity related. The Polemarch was third; and orinally his office was what the title imports, chief in military affairs. The other six archons had the common title of Thesmothete: they

presided as judges in the ordinary courts of justice; and the fix formed a tribunal which had a peculiar jurisdiction. The nine together formed the council of state. Legislation remained

with the affembly of the people; but almost the Thucyd. whole administration, political, military, judi- 1.1.c.126.

ciary, and religious, was with the archons.

Farther than this we are little exactly informed what was yet the conflictation of Athens: for writing was hitherto fo little practifed in Greece, that there were no written laws. It was therefore impossible for improvements in legislation, or in the forms of government, to advance with any steddy pace, or, except with such extraordinary institutions as those of Crete and Lacedamon, to rest on any firm ground. The abolition of hereditary supreme magistracy is a measure not generally likely to bring inter-

Newton's Chronol.

2. C. 18.

Herod. 1. 5. C. 71.

Thucyd. L. 1.C. 126,

Phit. So-

nal peace to a country; and the Athenian hiftory, during above a century which, according to the lowest computation, passed between the appointment of annual archons and the Persian invasion, is supplied by scarcely anything but intestine troubles. That weight which, from earliest times, a few principal families possessed among the Attic people, and which was in a great degree confirmed by the constitution of Thefeus, remained amid all the turbulence of democracy, to a late period. Among those fami-Paufan. 1. lies, the Alcmæonid, claiming its descent from the perpetual archons and the kings of the Neleid line, is of principal fame. Megacles, head of this house, was archon when Cylon, a man also of a very antient and powerful family . attempted to acquire the fovereinty of his country. He had married the daughter of Theägenes, tyrant of Megara: he had been victor in the chariot-race at the Olympian games; a circumftance which in those days of itself gave rank and reputation, not without some opinion of peculiar favor from the god of the festival; and being apparently a man of much ambition and little understanding, he interpreted a dubious response of the Delphian oracle as a declaration of divine bleffing upon his purpofe. With some troops, which he received from his father-in-law, he feized the citadel of Athens.

Thucyd.

But he feems to have been little prepared for

of the shoulding of herst tast "higreine magallace" Two mahan toyons nal donards. Thucyd. l. 1. C. 162,

the farther profecution of his enterprize. The SECT. people ran to arms under the conduct of the archons, and immediately laid fiege to the citadel. Cylon took an early opportunity to feek his own fafety in flight. His adherents, preffed by famine, forfook their arms and fled to the altars. Perfuaded to quit thefe, under promises of personal security, they were notwithstanding condemned and executed. This action gave occasion for great outcry. Many authors mention it is an enormity of the blackest dye, and fingularly offensive to the gods. In consequence of it the remaining partizans of Cylon gathered fresh popularity, and became again a popular faction.

The intolerable inconveniences of an unfettled government, and an uncertain juriforudence, at length induced all parties to concur in the refolution to appoint a lawgiver, who should be impowered to make a thorough refor-

mation in the state, and establish a system for the future conduct of its affairs; particularly for the regular administration of justice. Draco Ol. 52.1. was raifed to the important office; a man whofe fevere morals and inflexible uprightness justly recommended him, but who was unfortunately Ol.30.1. of genius very inferior to the undertaking. The political constitution he seems to have left as he found it. His alterations were confined to the judicature; and even there he showed himself incapable of accommodating his ideas either to the necessities of particular situations, or to the general

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general temper of mankind. All crimes, equally from the most enormous to the most triffing, that became objects of his laws. he made capital; urging that a breach of any positive law, being treason to the jurisprudence of the state, deserved death; and he could go no farther for greater crimes. The feverity of fuch a system defeated its own purpose. Few would be accusers against inferior criminals, when the confequence was to be fatal to the accused; and the humanity of the judges interfering where that of profecutors was deficient, it followed that all crimes, except those highly atrocious, went wholly unpunished. The laws of Draco, therefore, were a very imperfect remedy for the evils under which Athens labored : in fome instances they but increased them.

A state agitated between inveterate constitutional disorders, and imperfect attempts at reformation; was open to missortune. The people of Salamis, perceiving the weakness of the Athenian government, and probably suffering under it, had revolted, and allied themselves with Megara. The Athenians made several attempts to recover the iland; but always with such loss, that at length the lower people, in opposition to their chiefs, carried a law, making it capital for any one, magistrate or private person, ever to propose a renewal of the

Plut. Solon. Juffin. l.

Τάματο. "Ιδιοι δ' το τος τόμοις δυδέι έςτις, ο τι και μετίτας άξιος, πλών καλεπότης δια το της ζεμίας μέγεθος. Aristot. Polit. 1. 2. 6. 14. under-.

undertaking. This rash act of a legislating populace, which, however apparently strange, was not fingular among the antient democracies, Thucyd. brought forward to public notice one of the greatest characters that Greece ever produced. Solon, a young man of an old and honorable family of Attica, had been hitherto distinguished only by his love of learning and his genius for poetry. The law concerning Salamis began foon to be an evident cause of diffatisfaction and shame, particularly among the younger Athenians. None however dared openly propose the repeal of it. Solon ventured an attempt to evade its penalty, while he should lead the people to the act which themselves now defired. He caused it to be reported that he had occafional accesses of madness; and for some time kept his house. In this retirement he compofed a poem, that might excite the multitude to his purpose. Watching then an opportunity, during an affembly of the people, he ran into the agora like one frantic, mounted the herald's stone from which proclamations were usually spoken, and thence recited his poem to the crowd. Some of his friends were at hand, prepared to wonder, admire, and applaud. The people caught the phrenzy; the law concerning Salamis was abrogated; and it was decreed immediately to fend a fresh expedition against that iland. The bufiness came into the hands of the party to which Solon attached himfelf: it was conducted with prudence, and the fuccess was answers and the property of a demonstration

CHAP. answerable: the Athenians recovered the iland

Plut. So-

But the spirit of faction yet remained unquelled. The partizans of Cylon were violently clamorous about the unexpiated crime of the partizans of Megacles. Solon therefore, having acquired great consideration with all parties, again stepped forth, and had insluence to persuade the accused peaceably to abide a trial, to which the administration of the republic was unable to compel them. They were condemned to exile; but the atonement was deemed insufficient to secure the commonwealth from the vengeance of the affronted deity, till the bones of the offenders who had died were also removed beyond the mountains. The struggle between the oligarchal and de-

Ariflot. Polit. l. 2.

Ariftot.

mocratical parties at Athens, meanwhile was drawing to a crisis. The oligarchal principle yet predominated in the Athenian constitution. The claims of birth were high: civil magiftracy, religious office, military command, all remained, as they had been appointed by the laws of Theseus, the exclusive privilege of the eupatrids: almost the whole property of Attica was theirs; and it appears that the confequent oppression of the lower people was often severe. At the fame time the conflitutional power of the people was great, weighty, and even overbearing, when they could be brought to anything approaching to unanimity in the exercise of it. This appeared in the law concerning Salamis: the first strong measure of a democra-

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tical party in Athens, of which any account SECT. has been transmitted to us. The people having thus once felt their force, were not easily to be kept within the bounds of moderation in the exercise of it. teticine at tinproventering

But while the struggles of faction were convulfing Athens, the Megarians retook Nifea Plut. Seand Salamis. Public misfortune and the apprehension of a forein enemy produced a pause of domestic contention; and the eupatrids, more united, more ably led, and poffeffing more various means, than the people, turned the powers of superstitious terror to the advantage of their political interest. Reports were circulated of phantoms feen, and various ominous circumstances observed, which portended the anger of the gods. The people were alarmed: the priefts declared that expiations and purifications were necessary; but how the divine wrath might with certainty be averted, they professed themselves at a lofs to determine.

After various consultations, a deputation was fent to Crete, inviting Epimeneides, a philosopher of that iland, of high reputation for skill in the divinity of the age, to take upon him, in this feafon of anxiety and terror, the fuperintendance of the religion of Athens. To this stranger, the supposed favorite of the gods, the people looked up with expectation and awful fuspense, while he directed the performance of facrifices and processions, with increased pomp and new ceremonies. The dazzling splendor. and alluring but well-regulated festivity, which of the whell hours are

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accom-

Leg. 1. 3. p. 677.

CHAP. accompanied every act of devotion, ingaged the public mind, checked the purfuits of faction. and led to the establishment of good order and fober conduct. According to Plutarch, that fcheme of improvement in the government and juriforudence of the commonwealth, afterward executed by Solon, was at this time concerted with the Cretan philosopher; with whom Solon is faid to have lived in intimate friendship. and to whose worth and abilities we have Plato's testimony in strong terms. At present Epimeneides was the oftenfible director of everything: but excepting the new religious ceremonies, we find only one permanent regulation attributed to him: he restrained the usual excess of public mourning for deceased relations, which had often led to tumult; being conducted, after the manner of many barbarous nations, and of the provincial Irish to this day, with public and clamorous lamentation and weeping, in which the women bore a principal part. Internal quiet being thus restored to Athens, Epimeneides took his leave. High honors and vahuable presents were decreed to him by the state Plut. So- for his fervices. He refused all, and requested Herodot, only a branch of the facred olive-tree which 1. 8. c. 55. grew in the acropolis, faid to be the parent of its kind, and to have fprung from the ground at the command of the goddess Minerva. This being granted, he returned to Crete. When Superior abilities have acquired influence to one man over the many, fuch oftentatious difinterestedness beyond all things confirms their power; and it is in times only when honorable poverty

poverty may be an object even of imbition to SECT men of fuperior talents, that great reformations in a state are to be expected. I have a margar of

But the diforders of Athens, having their foundation in a defective constitution, were but in small part removed, and for the rest, meerly Iulled, by the measures of Epimeneides. Each order of the state by itself had too much power, the authority of the two was not duly connected and blended, and a moderator was wanting to hold the balance between them. The nobles therefore were foon again oppressive, the people again refractory, ambitious men took leading parts, and three contending factions divided Attica. Among the proprietors of the mountainous tracks the democratical interest prevailed; the plain country was mostly the poffession of the eupatrids, whose general aim was to establish an exclusive oligarchy; but the mercantile men and many landowners of the coast, averse to either extreme, were anxious for a mixed government. Hence the three factions were diffinguished by the names of Highlanders, Lowlanders, and Coastmen, under which they long fubfifted.

Almost all the antient commonwealths, of which any accounts remain, have been violently agitated through the consequences of unequal property. This gave occasion to the division of lands at Lacedæmon; this caused many convulsions in Rome, and various alterations in its constitution; and these formed the principal fource of the present disturbances in Vol. I. Athens.

CHAP. Athens. Everywhere they feem to have had their origin chiefly in the inftitution of domeftic flavery; and hence principally the operation of wealth has been remarkably fimilar among the antient republics, and remarkably different from anything known in modern Europe. Nowhere the poor had ready means of getting a livelihood by creditable industry: the rich, to acquire at the same time revenue and influence. lent their money. The poor, averfe to employments which put them in appearance upon a footing with flaves, and often unable to obtain hire even for such employment, borrowed, at exorbitant interest, with their persons only to offer for fecurity. Everywhere therefore the laws gave the lender certain rights over the person of the borrower. Thus the wealthy, to the power always attending property, added a power not originally intended by the conflitution, yet derived from the laws, and confirmed by them. The indifferction of the needy has always cooperated at first with the ambition of the rich to increase that power. The indiferetion of the rich afterward, indulging a dispofition to avarice and tyranny, has at length urged the poor to relift an authority to which themselves had contributed to give the fanction of law. At Athens an infolvent debter became flave to his creditor; and not himfelf only, but his wife and children also, if less would not answer the debt. Sometimes a debtor would fell his children to fave himfelf. Power on one fide, and resources on the other, both so abhor-

abhorrent to humanity, necessarily produced a sect. violent irritation in the minds of the poor against the rich. Most dangerous dissensions were on the point of breaking out, and many Plutarch foher men, fays Plutarch, began to think that Solon. nothing less than the establishment of regal power, or, as it was then called, a tyranny, could prevent greater evils, when the superior character of Solon drew the attention of all parties. He was obnoxious to none: not to the lower people, because, tho rich, he never oppressed any: not to the higher, because, tho adverse to their private tyranny, he favored their political power. His superior wisdom had been approved; his integrity was believed above all influence; and he was respected univerfally. His character was thus great, not only in Athens, but throughout Greece. The part he had taken in the vindication of the temple of Delphi against some attempts of the Cirrhæans, in confequence of which a body of. Athenian forces marched to affift the Amphie- 01.54.3. tyons, had greatly extended his reputation. His friends therefore succeeded in procuring him the appointment, by univerfal consent; to 01.46.3. be archon, with power to reform the laws and constitution of the flate.

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werd on the point of preaking out; and many property Reformation of the Athenian Government and Jurisprudence by Solon.

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BARBAROUS ages are most favorable for legislation. History affords few instances of great improvement in the constitution of polished states. The means there can scarcely occur but through some violent convulsion, threatening subversion, confounding all establiffments, and reducing things to the chaos of barbarism. The English constitution stands fingular in the circumstance of its gradual improvement. But the materials of its foundation, derived from German forests, were arranged by the great Alfred in days of the deepeft barbarism: and our jurisprudence, by the acknowlegement of our greatest lawyers, received more improvement in the two reigns of Henry the Second and Edward the First than in all the centuries fince. The friends of Solon appear to have been aware of the greater difficulty of political reformation among an inlightened people, when, doubting the fufficiency of the authority given him to reprefs the effects of party, and curb the interfering ambition of powerful individuals, they offered to affift him in affuming royalty, and with a high hand molding all things to his own pleafure. But Solon was wife enough, for his own fake,

Plutarch. Solon.

the fake of his country, to avoid attempting those fundamental changes for which he saw the season was past. Bold as well as virtuous, he had yet neither the daring nor the severe temper of the Spartan lawgiver; but each seems to have been born for his own age and country.

Like Lycurgus, Solon's first object, and what indeed the state of things at Athens most urgently demanded, was to remedy the evils produced by inequality of possessions; to reconcile the rich with the poor, to relieve these without violently offending those. But Solon would obviate the abuse, not abolish the use of riches. The business was of extreme nicety. Accounts differ concerning the manner in which it was effected; but the legislator at length brought the two parties to join in a common facrifice, which was called the Seifachtheia, or feaft of delivery from burthens, and all was fettled: probably, as fome authors have related, not by annulling the debts, but by lowering the interest; by giving means of advantage to the debtor through fome alterations in the value of money; and especially by taking from the creditor all power over the persons of the debtor and his family.

This most difficult and dangerous business being accommodated, Solon proceeded to regulate the constitution of the commonwealth. We are told that Lycurgus being asked why he, who in other respects appeared so zealous for the equal rights of men, did not make his go-

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Plutarch. Apoph. Lacon. vernment democratical, rather than oligarchal, Go you,' the legislator answered, and try a democracy in your own house. Solon was not unaware of the evils inherent in that turbulent form of rule: but he found a predilection for it fo rooted in the minds of his fellowcountiymen, that he feared to attempt a change, and fought only to obviate its inconveniencies. To every free Athenian, therefore, was preferved his equal vote in the Assembly of THE PROPLE, which remained SUPREME in all cases legislative, executive, and judicial; a foundation of evil fo broad, that all the wifdom of Solon's other regulations was weak against it. Yet his other regulations were replete with wisdom.

It were however difficult, if not impossible, by the most accurate collection of what remains to us in various antient authors, to ascertain what was at any time, in every particular, the form of government of Athens; nor have we the means of always determining what was, and what was not, of the institution of Solon. The learned archbishop Potter, after all his labors, leaves us in the dark concerning fome circumstances which we might wish to have elucidated: for if it were only on account of the esteem in which they were held by the Romans, who must have been impartial as well as otherwise most respectable judges, the institutions of Solon would be among the greatest objects of curiofity in all antiquity. Indeed they may be confidered, in some degree, as the fountain

fountain of all the legislation and juriforudence SECT. of Europe; being the acknowleged model of the Roman law, which has formed that of many of the European nations, and contributed confiderable improvements to all, even to our own. In thus tracing modern jurisprudence upward, we arrive indeed at a very remote fource. Through Rome we pass to Athens, to Crete, to Egypt. But it is in the constitution and practice of Athens that a regular and scientific jurisprudence first becomes known to us in any detail: and the Athens probably gained much from Crete, first by Theseus, then by Epimeneides, yet those improvements, that polish, which formed the peculiar merit of its conftitution, have by the confent of all been attributed to Solon.

In the inquiry then what the Athenian constitution was, it will be first necessary to take a view of the component members of the Athenian commonwealth, because in these it differed fo widely from everything in modern Europe, that this alone fuffices to prevent any close refemblance in almost any particular. The refults of two polls of ATHENIAN CITIZENS Plut. vit. remain reported to us; one taken in the time Peric. Athen. of Pericles, the other in that of Demetrius Deipno-Phalereus. By the first they were found to be foph. 1. 6. no more than fourteen thousand and forty perfons; probably men above the age of thirty, before which they were not competent to be admitted on juries for the trial of causes, nor, it should seem, regularly to vote in the general affem-Ee4

CHAP. affembly: tho, whatever may have been the ordinance of Solon, this point seems, in aftertimes, to have been less decisively settled than its importance required. At the fecond period the Athenian citizens were twenty-one thoufand: and at the fame time there were found refident in Attica ten thousand FREEMEN of age to pay the capitation-tax, who had nor the rights of Athenian citizens, being either foreiners, or of forein extraction, or freed flaves, or descended from such; all comprehended under the common name of METIC; and the SLAVES in actual bondage, men, women, and children, were no less than four hundred thoua but h formed the occurre there is fand.

> This proportion of flaves to freemen, in a commonwealth fo boaftful of liberty as its darling passion, astonishes. Not that it is difficult to account for either the origin, or this enor-

> > io antakani

It appears strange that such a point should have been left undetermined in the Athenian conflitution, and yet it feems to have been fo. Aristophanes, in his comedy of the Knights, introduces the people, represented by a fingle person with the name of Demus, faying in general terms, 'I will not allow beardless youths to meddle with the business of the agora.' Cleisthenes and Straton are then named as very young men who had put themselves forward in public affairs; and Demus proceeds, 'I will fend fuch youths a-hunting, and will not permit them to be proposing laws (1).' In Xenophon's Memoirs of Secrates we find Glaucon, brother of Plato, of a noble, but not a wealthy or powerful family, attempting to speak in the assembly of the people before he was twenty years old; and Plato reprefents Alcibiades propofing to become a public man at an equally premature age. Xen. Mem. Socr. 1. 3. c. 6. Plat. Alcib. 1.

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mous increase of flavery in the progress of fo- SECT. ciety. For favages can exist only where they are few in proportion to the territory they have to wander over. As numbers increase, agriculture becomes necessary to subfishence, and the favage state ends. Still while choice and change of foil are open, moderate labor fuffices. in a favorable territory and climate, to maintain a family. But when every productive spot is occupied; when necessity then becomes the mother of art, and when arts advancing, wants increase, when thus, in the progress of national prosperity, those who cultivate the foil are only a small proportion of those to be fed by it; the degree of labor then wanting from the numbers employed, to procure from the earth a cheap abundance of its most valuable and necessary productions, is so extremely irksome, that nothing less than constant practice from early years can make it tolerable. Few people in eafy circumftances have any just idea of this. Living mostly in towns, they talk with ignorant envy of the healthy labors of the peafant. Those labors of the peasant, not generally adverse to health indeed, unfailingly bring on immature old age. The limbs early stiffen: they bear the accustomed labor, which no others can bear: but they lose that general power of brisk exertion which we call activity. The internal frame at the fame time wears; and even the luxurious fometimes reach a length of days which the hard-laboring man never fees. When warlike people, therefore, emerging from the favage

CHAP favage state, first set about agriculture, the idea of fparing the lives of prisoners, on condition of their becoming uleful to the conquerors by labor, was an obvious improvement upon the practice of former times, when conquered enemies were constantly put to death; not from a fpirit of cruelty, but from necessity; for the conquerors were unable to maintain them in captivity, and dared not fet them free. SLA-VERY thus established, it is easy to conceive how it would increase. In infant societies labor cannot be hired; because all can employ themselves in their own concerns. Hence the necessity for flavery in our colonies. Tradition still in the age of Herodotus preserved memory 16.p.137 of the time when flavery was unknown in Greece; but before Homer, as we have feen. flaves were numerous. Throughout Greece the flave-trade became as regular a branch of commerce as now in the West Indies: Athens had its flave-market. But hired labor, which formerly could not be had, then became little defirable. The poor, therefore, to subfift, must either emigrate, or become voluntary flaves, like the indented fervants of America; which, we are told, was not uncommon. The great fuperiority in number of flaves to freemen at Athens, with these considerations will not appear wonderful. The disproportion was greater at Lacedæmon, and scarcely inferior over Greece':

Thucydides fays, the proportion of flaves was nowhere greater than in Chios, except in Laconia. 1. 8, c. 40,

the it was probably not fo great in the age of SECT. Solon, as it was become in that of Demetrius Phalereus.

From this view of things then, it appears that Democracy was a mode of government not fo absolutely absurd and impracticable among the Greeks, as it would be where no flavery is. For the in democracies the supreme power was nominally vefted in all the people, yet those called the people, who exclusively shared that power, were scarcely a tenth part of the men of the state. The people, moreover, were almost all in circumstances to have received some education, and to subfift by easier means than those which, through constant labor of the body, disable the mind for liberal exertion. It was held by the Grecian politicians as a felf-evident proposition, that those who are to share in government should have the means of living independently in leifure; and the only question was, how, in a democracy, those means should be secured to a whole people io. Slavery, however, was absolutely necessary; and hence, tho it was disputed by some philofophers, yet Aristotle maintains that flavery is Aristot. natural among mankind. The fame great au- c. s & 6. thor supposes a commonwealth confisting of

άναγασιων υπάρχειν σχολών, δμολογόσμενον ές: Tiea δι τρόπου υπάρxou de padier LaBir. Aristot Polit. l. s. c. 9. And to the same purpole nearly Plato: Ta mis des would dors sonous galirds, dors almaogai tà di di rai cinitai, galand marra. De Leg. 1. 6. P. 776.

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fand should be rich, and three hundred poor.

Antiently in Colophon, he adds, most of the citizens had large property. The proportion of slaves must of course be great. In Lacedæmon, as we have seen, the constitution required that every freeman should be strictly a gentleman; and in the rest of Greece, scarcely any were so low as our laborers and handicraftsmen. At Athens the meat distributed at sacrifices, and the pay for attendance on public business, were the principal support of the poor. Thus the greatest part of the people were inabled to live with little bodily labor, and incouraged to application of the mind.

But Soverein Power being thus vefted in the General Assembly of the People, it was of great consequence, to ascertain who were ATHENIAN PEOPLE, legally intitled to that high privilege; and to provide effectually for the exclusion of those who were not so. Attica had been divided in very early times, it is faid by Cecrops, in a manner very nearly analogous to that of our own country by the great Alfred. into shires, hundreds and tythings. These divisions of Attica, in the course of ages, underwent changes both of name and effect; and two of the three feem to have remained of principal use, the Phyle and the Demus, Tribe and Borough, as archbishop Potter turns them; but Dryden translates the former word literally, and more properly, by the old English term,

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Wards .

Ward ". The Wards, from Cecrops till about fifty years after Solon, were only four. A new division was then made of the country and people into ten wards; and the boroughs were one hundred and feventy-four. Each ward or phyle had its prefiding magistrate, called Phylarchus or Epimeletes Phyles, analogous to our theriff: and each borough or demus its Demarchus, analogous to our constable or headborough. It is remarkable that as the title of King, Bafileus, was scrupulously preserved to the high-prieft, or person prefiding over the religious concerns of the Attic nation, fo the prefident of the religious concerns of each ward was intitled Phylobafileus, King of the Ward: and he was always appointed from among the nobly born, the eupatrids. Every child, born to the privileges of an Athenian, was carefully registered soon after birth. Youths at eighteen were infcribed in a fecond register, when they were reckoned among the Ephebi, and became liable to military duties within Attica. At twenty, being efteemed men, they were introduced at a public meeting of their demus, and were registered a third time.

If democracy was a form of government defirable for any people that ever existed, the Lacedæmonians must have been above all others competent for it: yet Lycurgus deemed it unfit even for those among whom was no diffe-

This word is still retained in a sense exactly analogous to the Attic, for the primary divisions of the city of London, and of the county of Northumberland.

CHAP. rence of rank, or riches, or education, but who were all equally, and with affiduous attention, bred for the business of the commonwealth only, and to all of whom equally he meant to fecure the most perfect freedom of which mankind in fociety is capable. Solon, therefore, evidently more in necessary compliance with the temper of the times than in purfuance of what himself thought best, having confirmed to the Affembly of the People an authority more univerfally and uncontrolably absolute than any despot upon earth ever did or ever can posses, his great concern was to establish some balancing power, capable in fome degree of obviating the evils which a foverein multitude is ever ready to bring upon itself. Theseus, as we have feen, had divided the Attic people into three ranks, or perhaps rather into two ranks, though there were three classes; and by his law those of the first rank were alone competent for magistracy of any kind. Various changes feem to have been made after him, as it fuited the interest of leaders of prevailing factions to inlarge or to abridge the privileges of the lower orders; and when Solon undertook the legislation, contradictory precedents had been fo numerous as nearly to have overturned all rule. That lawgiver made a new division of the people into Four RANKS, determined meerly by the value of every man's The first rank consisted of those possessions. whose lands produced yearly, in corn, wine, oil, any commodity, dry or liquid, five hundred of the

the Attic measure called Medimnus; whence they had the title of Pentacofiomedimnians. The fecond rank was composed of persons whole lands yielded at least three hundred measures. Thefe, as well as the first rank, were exempt from fervice in the infantry and on shipboard, except in some command: but they were bound to keep a horfe for the public; and, within the age for military service, to serve personally in the cavalry. Hence they had the title of Hippeis, Horfemen, or, as our writers often translate it, by our antient term for a horfe-foldier. Knights is. The third rank, called Zeugites. were of persons whose lands produced two hundred measures, but less than three hundred. Thefe, being deemed of estate infussicient to be required to keep a horse for public service, were bound to ferve in the infantry among the heavy-armed, and to be provided with complete arms for the purpofe. The reft of the citizens. not possessed of lands producing two hundred meafures, were comprehended under the name of Thetes. Thefe alfo, like the reft, were bound to military fervice. If provided with fufficient armour they might increase the force of the heavy-armed: if not so provided, they were reduced to the less honorable service of the light-armed. But when Athens became a maritime power, the Thetes principally manned the fleet; in that fervice they might be effected

The old English law also was very exactly the Athenian. See stat. 13. Edw. I. which professes not to establish a new law, but meerly to inforce the old.

CHAP.

perhaps superior to the crowd, as it was often contemptuously called, of light-armed infantry, but the meer seaman was never reckoned equal

in rank with the heavy-armed foldier.

We shall in vain inquire what, according to the relative value of money and commodities in our own age and country, was the value of an Attic estate, in the age of Solon, estimated by fo uncertain a medium as hundreds of meafures of any produce of the earth, dry or liquid: Arbuthnot, in his diligent researches on the fubiect, feems to have been unable to fatisfy himfelf for any era of the Athenian commonwealth. But in a country like Attica, almost without meadows, little fruitful in corn, and, in Solon's age, little commercial, horsekeeping would be very expensive. The lawgiver, therefore, in excusing the possessors of estates yielding less than three hundred measures annually; from keeping a horse for public service, judged, nevertheless, that an estate of two hundred would put the owner fo far at his eafe, that he might be competent, not only to ferve in the heavy infantry without pay, (distant service being wholly out of his view) but also to execute offices of magistracy for which no salary was allowed. The Athenian magistracies accordingly were, by his constitution, to be filled from the first three ranks of citizens. The election of magistrates he committed to the fourth. Of the fourth also he composed the juries who decided causes in the courts of justice, and to the fourth he also allowed the equal

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Ariftot. Polit. l. 2. C. 12. equal vote of every Freeman in the foverein Affembly of the People. This sufficed in the end to put unlimited power into the hands of those least capable of properly exercising any power; for the fourth rank, being more numerous than all the others, would, if united, of course be omnipotent, and might alter the constitution, as we shall hereafter find they did, to their own pleasure and their own ruin. 13.

Still, therefore, purfuing his view of forming a balance against the indifcretion of the multitude, Solon instituted a new Council or SE-NATE, confisting of one hundred persons out of each of the four wards which composed the Attic people. Such an affembly, he hoped, would have a weight which the college of Archons had been unable to maintain; and he therefore committed to it many of the powers which had before belonged to those magistrates. But this Council becomes more known to us after the increase of the number of Wards to ten; when Fifty Counfellors were appointed out of each, making the whole number five hundred. Its common title was THE COUNCIL; but for distinction it was called the Council of Five Hundred, or sometimes simply THE FIVE HUNDRED. The members were appointed annually by lot, from among those of the Athenian people, legally qualified for the dignity, who

It will be but justice to the character of Solon to observe, that better political principles were not discovered so late as the age of Isocrates. See his Arciop. p. 113, v. 2. An row min Apon the properties refer that the

CHAP.

were defirous of obtaining it. But previously to their admission they were to undergo, before the existing council, a strict inquiry concerning their past life, which was termed Dokimasia; when, if anything could be proved prejudicial to their character, they were to be rejected. The counsellors of each tribe in turn, for the space of thirty-five days, had superior dignity and additional powers, with the title of PRY-TANES: and from them the council-hall was called PRYTANEIUM. The prytanes were in turn Prefidents of the council; and each held that high office only one day; during which he had the custody of the public feal, of the keys of the treasury, and of the keys of the citadel. The whole affembly formed the Council of State of the Commonwealth, having constant charge of its political concerns. It was moreover a particular and very important function of this council to prepare business for the Assembly of the People; in which, according to Solon's constitution, nothing was to be proposed which had not first been approved here. But the powers which he had already ratified to that affembly were too preponderant for any certain restraint. Whenever, at the instigation of a factious demagogue, it defired more, it might demand and take.

Aware how much the business of all is liable to be considered as the business of none, Solon, having given soverein power to the people, would not leave it to their choice to neglect its duties. Upon this principle rests that singular,

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but furely wife ordinance, That those should SECT. be held criminal who took no part in civil commotions. For as it is notoriously the honefter men who are generally most disposed to be quiet on fuch occasions, nothing feems fo likely to fecure the constitution as compelling all men to interfere. For the same reason the legislator provided means to inforce the attendance of the people at the general affemblies. Four were regularly to be held during the prefidency of each prytaneia, which, as we have feen, was for a term of thirty-five days; and each of these assemblies had its stated business. That of the first was principally to approve or reject magistrates, to receive accusations of public offences presented by the Thesmothete Archons, and to hear the catalogue of fines and confiscations for public service. The fecond inacted laws and received petitions, relative either to the public or to private persons. The peculiar business of the third was to give audience to the ministers of forein powers. The concerns of religion were the fole object of the fourth. Often the business of those asfemblies would be little interesting to the people in general; yet great inconvenience might follow from want of due attendance. When therefore the people were remifs, which feems to have been common, the magistrates shut all the city-gates except one, by which the people were permitted to pass only toward the assembly: they caused all vendibles to be removed. from the markets; and they fent about their Ff 2

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CHAP. attendants holding an extended cord, prepared with a dye for the purpose, with which they marked all they overtook, and those so marked were fined. All who attended in due time received a small pay from the treasury. To keep order in so large a meeting, nine Proëdri, Foremen, were appointed by lot from the council; one from each of those tribes which were not at the time prytanes. From these nine the Epistates, Chairman or Speaker of the assembly, was appointed by lot. With them fat the Nomophylaces, from their number called the Eleven, whose peculiar duty it was to be watchful over the laws, and to explain to the people the tendency of any propofals contrary to the spirit of the constitution. The Prytanes had distinct powers in the assembly, which were confiderable.

The members of the Grecian democracies, fensible, from frequent experience, of the uncertain power of reason over a multitude, and of the evils liable to arife from the fluctuating and inflammable nature of popular paffion, devised or admitted various precautions to prevent themselves from being led to acts to their own brejudice. It was ordained by the celebrated lawgiver Charondas, that whofoever would propose to abrogate an old law or inact a new one, should come into the affembly with a halter about his neck; and death was to follow if his proposal was rejected. Solon was not so rigid. Aware that regulations the best adapted to the circumstances of the commonwealth at one time.

Diodor. Sic. l. 12. C. 17.

time, might not equally fuit those of another, SECT. he injoined an annual revifal of the laws. If the affembly of the people declared alteration in any point necessary, a committee was to be appointed, in later times confisting of no less than a thousand persons, who, with the title of Nomothetes, were directed to consider of the alteration proper to be made. The new law being prepared by this numerous committee, five officers, called Syndics, were appointed to defend the old before the affembly; which then decided between the two. In any other manner than this it was hazardous to propofe a new law at Athens. A law passed by the affembly without having been previously published as the constitution required; a law conceived in ambiguous or fallacious terms; or a law contrary to any former law, fubjected the proposer to penalties. It was therefore usual to repeal the old law before a contrary new one was proposed; and the delay thus occasioned was an additional fecurity to the constitution.

The regular manner of INACTING a LAW at Athens was thus: It was the office of the council to give legal form to the proposed matter: but any Athenian, having anything to offer for public confideration, might address it to the Prytanes; whose duty it was to receive all petitions and information, and transmit them to the council. If approved there, it became a Probouleuma, analogous to our parliamentary bill prepared by a committee; and, being then written on a tablet, was exposed during feveral Ff3 days

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CHAP. days for public perufal and confideration. At the next affembly it was red to the people. This being done, proclamation was made by the public crier in these terms: 'Who of those ' above fifty years old chufes to speak?' When thefe, if any were fo disposed, had made their orations, the crier again proclaimed, ' Any 'Athenian, not difqualified by law, may speak.' The disqualifying circumstances were, having fled from their colors in battle, being deeply indebted to the commonwealth, or having been ever convicted of any flagitious crime. But the Prytanes had a general power to injoin filence to any man at discretion. Without some such power lodged fomewhere, the bufiness of the affembly might be endless; yet it was, no doubt, necessary for the Prytanes to exercise. this power in subordination to the pleasure of the majority of the affembly. The debates being ended, the crier, at the command of the Proedri, fignified to the people that the bufiness waited their determination; when suffrages were given by holding up hands. This was the ordinary manner of voting: but in fome extraordinary cafes, particularly when the question related to the maladministration of magistrates, votes were given privately by casting pebbles into vessels prepared by the Prytanes. The Proedri examined the fuffrages, and declared the majority: the Prytanes dismissed the af-

We fee, in the conduct of this bufiness, numerous precautions, wifely taken, to insure regularity,

gularity, and to prevent finister management, SECT. in a form of government fo naturally disposed to irregularity, and fo naturally open to the arts of defigning men. But Solon hoped to provide a farther and powerful weight in the balance against the uncertainty and turbulence of democratical rule, by the restoration of the court of Areiopagus. We have no account of the origin of this celebrated court, the fame of which the partiality of aftertimes has carried far into the fabulous ages 14. The inflitutions of Draco had nearly abolished its authority and fuperseded its use. Solon restored its consequence, improved its regulations, and augmented its powers. How its members were appointed before him we are not informed. By his institutions it was composed of those who had executed the office of archon with credit all of whom, having passed the Euthyne, or fcrutiny concerning their conduct in that high office, were admitted members of the Areiopagus. This feems to have been the only dignity of the Athenian government conferred for a

¹⁴ Archbishop Potter apologizes, seemingly unnecessarily, for differing from such respectable authors as Cicero and Plutarch, who call Solon the founder of the court of Areiopagus. It is not probable that Cicero and Plutarch meant to deny the existence of the court of Areiopagus before Solon: but they call him justly the sounder of that court, such as it was in the sourishing times of the Athenian commonwealth. Aristotle mentions its earlier existence (1), and Demosthenes professes his ignorance of its origin (2), of which he scarcely could have been ignorant had it not been much older than Solon.

⁽¹⁾ Ariffot. Polit. 1. 2. c. 12. (2) Orat. in Ariffocratem

F f 4 longer

CHAP. longer term than one year: the Areiopagites were for life.

The power of the court of Areiopagus was very great. It is faid, to have been the first that ever fat upon life and death; in early times in Greece, as throughout western Europe, public justice proceeding no farther against the most atrocious criminals than the exaction of a fine. Capital offences among the Athenians were, for the most part, connisable by this court only. From the Areiopagus alone was conflitutionally no appeal to the affembly of the people: yet, if that affembly chose to interfere, no balancing power existed in the Athenian commonwealth capable of refifting its despotic will. But the constitution authorized the Areiopagus to stop the effect of the judicial decrees of the affembly of the people itself; to annul an acquittal, or extend mercy to the condemned. The Areiopagus directed all issues from the public treasury. It had great power as a cenforial court, punishing impiety, im-morality, and all disorderly conduct; not meerly when accufations were brought; but it was the duty of the Areiopagites to watch the behavior of the citizens. Idleness was a crime of which they were particularly required to take connisance; inquiring strictly by what means every man, not of known property or vifible employment, maintained himself. The superintendance of youth was also committed to them; and it was their duty to provide by their authority that all should be educated suitably

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to their rank and fortune. It was the custom of this court, for judicial business, to fit only in the night, and without light. The purpose of this singularity is said to have been that the members might be the less liable to prejudice for or against accused persons. It was for the same reason a rule that pleaders should confine themselves to simple narration of sact, and statement of the law, without any ornament of speech, or any attempt to warp the judgement by appealing to the passions of the judges. The reputation of the court of Areiopagus for wisdom and strict justice, and very remarkably for the respectable characters of its members, was long very high.

The Athenian constitution, for so small a state, was very complex. Beside the General

Affembly

phrey Prideaux (1) has summed up the principal testimonies to the great authority and high reputation of the court of Areiopagus in the following words: among which the concluding hyperbole of the great Tully is remarkable: Areopagitis a Solone commisse of legum custodia (2). Sape igitur injustitize et temeritati populi restitisse, sape eorum decreta rescidisse, memorantur; & sine eorum approbatione minil omnino majoris momenti Athenis, ante deminutam eorum per Ephialtem autoritatem, de republica unquam decernebatur (3). Totam igitur, ut paucis dicam, regebant rempublicam (4). Tamque necessarium ad illam recte instituendam eorum semper videbatur consilium, ut de illis dicat Cicero Atheniensium rempublicam non magis posse sine Areopagi consilio, quam mundum sine providentia Dei, administrari (5).

⁽¹⁾ In Marm. I. Öxon. p. 351. (2) Plutarch. in Solon. et Andocides in Orat. de Mysteriis. (3) Demosthen. in or. con. Androtionem.
(4) Suidas in voc. "Αρειος σάγοι, & Lysias in or. de probatione Evandri. (5) M. T. Cie. de Nat. Qeor. l. 1. C. 2.

CHAP. Affembly and the Areiopagus, there were no les than TEN COURTS OF JUDICATURE in Athens: four for criminal causes, and fix for civil. In the establishment of these it was that Solon most eminently displayed both his honest zeal for the equal liberties of men, and his ability, as a legislator, to devise the most effectual means for fecuring them: here we fee principally exemplified the idea expressed in his celebrated answer reported among the sayings of the feven wifemen: 'That,' faid Solon, 'is in my opinion the most perfect government where an injury to any one is the concern of all. Before that lawgiver the Archons were, in most causes, supreme and sole judges. Solon directed that, in the ten courts just mentioned, causes should be decided by a body of men, like our juries, taken for the purpose from among the people; the archons only prefiding in the manner of our judges, and fometimes carrying the business through the necessary steps preparatory to the determination of a jury, as in our courts of Westminster-hall. But the archons being appointed by lot, and confequently often very insufficient for such business, it was usual for each to chuse two persons of experience to affift him in his office. These, in time, became regular constitutional officers by the name of Paredri, affelfors; undergoing the fame probation as the archons themselves before entering on their office, and the fame fcrutiny at its conclusion. The manner of appointing the jurors was thus: A fmall pay from the treasury induced

induced those who had leisure to offer them." SECT. felves. Any Athenian, above thirty years of age, and not under any legal disqualification, delivered his name and legal description to the thefmothete archons; and thefe affigned the jurors to the different courts by lot. This is that department in the machine of government which ought to belong to the people at large. It is that for which they are most competent, and the fecurity of property and equal liberty requires that they should alone possess it.

To fave the inhabitants of the country from the inconvenient necessity of going to Athens for justice in cases of inferior consequence, itinerant judges, called the Forty, were appointed to go through the boroughs, with power to determine actions of affault, and controversies

of property under a certain value 16.

In all the Grecian republics every freeman was bound to MILITARY SERVICE. The abundance of flaves in them all made this both practicable and necessary, which in countries without flaves would be neither. The flaves by their labor supported the freemen in arms; and the practice of arms was indispensable for every freeman, if it were only to preferve that afcen-

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¹⁶ This account of the Athenian conflitution has been taken almost intirely from Archbishop Potter's Grecian Antiquities. Those who are desirous of investigating the subject more deeply will of course consult that valuable work, and the numerous authorities there quoted. Petit's collection of Attic Laws, with his diffuse comment on them, may perhaps then attract their attention. As the Archbishop's work is in everybody's hands, I have thought it unnecessary to repeat the authorities.

CHAP.

dancy over the fuperior number of the flaves. without which property, freedom, and life itfelf would be utterly insecure. No Grecian town, therefore, was without its gymnafium, or public school of bodily exercise. Every free Athenian, at the age of eighteeen, was inrolled among the military. His duty, for the first two years, was confined within the bounds of Attica. The city-guard of Athens was chiefly of youths under twenty. After that age till forty he was legally compellable to any forein fervice that the affairs of the commonwealth required. Rank and property made no other diftinction than giving the privilege to ferve on horseback; which was at the same time a privilege and a burthen; for in the Athenian, and fome other of the more powerful commonwealths, every man of competent property was bound to provide and maintain a horse for public fervice 1.10 nowand was runth on beard sew

-The Greeks made a great distinction between the heavy and the light-armed foot; the former termed Hoplites, the other Pfilus. The Hoplites wore that nearly complete armour descri-See chap. bed in treating of the Homeric age: he carried of this hift. a large shield, and his principal weapon was a long spear. The usual formation of this heavy

17 The Roman law was similar, and the near conformity of the old English to the Athenian is remarkable. By the statute of the 13th of Edward I, which professes not to inact novelties, but meerly to inforce the old law, all natives, between fifteen years and forty were to have arms, at least a sword and a battleaxe, and those who had fifteen pounds a year in land or forty marks in goods, were not to be without a horseman's arms.

foot was in a large compact body, termed Pha- SECT. lanx, in which the files were feldom of fewer than eight men. The Pfilus, on the contrary, had very imperfect defensive armour, he carried missile weapons, and no shield. He was. therefore, incapable of ingaging in close fight with the Hoplites. Free citizens only were allowed to ferve in the heavy foot; and in fome of the oligarchal states, only those of higher rank, or possessing a qualification in property. The light-armed were chiefly flaves, who waited upon the Hoplitæ, and who alone generally did all duties of meer fatigue. They were esteemed, as soldiers, so inferior to the heavy foot, that it was usual, in reporting the numbers of Grecian armies, to reckon the heavy foot only, the commonly attended by at least an equal number of Pfili. Upon one great occasion we read of a Lacedæmonian army, in Herodot. which no less than seven slaves, all doing duty 1.9.c. 11. as light-armed foldiers, attended upon every Spartan Hoplites. The Lacedæmonians, and in general the Peloponnesians, would serve only as heavy foot in close fight; and in this the Thebans agreed with them; but the Athenians attributed more value to the use of missile weapons. We find bowmen, and particularly Athenian bowmen, always mentioned by Thucydides as a valuable species of troops, whose numbers he specifies upon all occasions with no less care than those of the heavy-armed; and he never confounds them with, what he fometimes calls contemptuously, the crowd of Pfili, as a body

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CHAP.

of men not less inserior in discipline than in arms. Different from all these were the Middle-armed, who, from the small shield or target which they bore, distinguished from the large shield of the heavy-armed by the name of Pelta, were denominated Peltastæ, Targeteers. We find these mostly among the colonies, and in those small or poor democratical states which were unable to provide the expensive armour of the Hoplitæ, especially those in the mountainous parts of northern Greece.

Several of the Grecian states, even of those powerful in infantry, had in early times no cavalry. But the Thessalians were almost universally horsemen; and the Boeotians cultivated early the horse-service. Of the cavalry of Athens we shall have occasion to speak hereaster, but what it was in the time of Solon we are little informed.

Democratical jealousy occasioned at Athens a very inconvenient system of Military Command. What were the military institutions of Solon we should wish to know, because he was himself a military man of some experience. Probably when he lessened the civil power of the college of archons, the military authority of the polemarc was also abridged; for in the end we find that officer meerly a civil magistrate, having peculiar jurisdiction over the Metics, those numerous free inhabitants of Attica who were not Athenian citizens. But we are uninformed what was the military establishment of Solon's time. When afterward the Athenian

Athenian wards were increased to ten, every SECT. ward elected its own military commander. Ten generals, therefore, with equal rank, commanded the forces of the Athenian commonwealth. All were not fent together on forein expeditions: but at home, on ordinary occasions, each commanded his day in turn; the ten forming a council of war to decide on emergencies. The inconveniences of this fystem were often felt; and in consequence it became usual. on important occasions, by a particular decree of the people, to commit the command in chief to one person: but the appointment of ten generals from the ten tribes, with equal authority, remained always the established system of Athens.

The composition of Grecian armies, and the subordination of command in them, appear to have been generally very regular; but in little particulars they differed so much in different ages, and in different republics in the fame age, that it is impossible now to ascertain what was at any time the exact formation of the Athenian phalanx, or indeed of that of any other republic. The account already given of the Spar- Se chap. tan army may however ferve to convey an idea of hishift. of the Grecian system in general. The Athenian feems to have differed from it more in names than in things. The Taxis of the Athenian fervice, like the Lochus of the Lacedemonian, was analogous to our battalion, and the rank of its commander, the Taxiarc, as of the Lochage, was nearly that of our colonel. Taxis generally

1. 1. c. 6. f. 21.

CHAP. nerally meant a battalion of foot, but it was also used for a squadron of horse. The troop of horse was Ile. The Athenian Stratege, like the Lacedæmonian Polemarc, was the general officer. The commander of a fleet was called Navarc, the commander of a trireme, Trierarc, but it is Xen. Hel. observable that the Taxiarc had rank superior to the Trierarc. The distinguishing characteristic of the Spartan discipline seems to have been that it was more perfect, the divisions more numerous and better graduated, the detail more regular, the fubordination more exact ".

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38 Guischardt, the ablest modern interpreter of the antient military writers, has the following remarks in a note to his translation of Arrian's Tactics (1): ' Je doute si les interpretes et · les traducteurs entendent les manœuvres que Xenophon decrit, et celles qu'il detaille, dans le troisieme livre (of the Anabasis) quand il parle des dispositions qu'on fit pour la marche des troupes. La tactique de Thucydide et de Xenophon est differente de celle du tems d'Alexandre le grand. Les termes qui s designoient les corps n'etoient plus les memes, et il y eut une autre disposition de sections. Faute d'y donner attention on ne ' peut que s'embrouiller.' It may be proper to add here the obfervation that the term Aoxos, which with the Lacedæmonians fignified a body of men composed of many files (according to Thucydides generally of fixty-four (2) among the later Greeks was fynonymous with rizos, and was the more common word of the two to express simply a File (3). Accordingly the term Λοχαγός, which with the Lacedæmonians was the title of an officer of confiderable rank, whose command was of above five hundred men, with the later Greeks meant no more than the fileleader, a common foldier. The term Emporte, originally peculiar to the Lacedemonians, and fignifying a body, generally of thirty-two men, formed in four files, was also adopted by the later Greeks to fignify a division of their hoges or file, perhaps

⁽¹⁾ P. 119. note q. (2) Thucyd. I. 5. c. 68. (3) Arrian. Tall. p. 18 & 20. ed. Amftel. & Lipz. 1750. commonly

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History of Athens from the Legislation of Solon to the Expulsion of the Peifistratids and the first Public Transaction with Persia.

SOLON, not contented with giving his country a constitution perhaps the most perfect that can confift with democracy, and eftablishing a jurisprudence not only far superior to what had before been known in Greece, but which has been a model for all following ages. was anxious to have all his fellowcountrymen fatisfied that what he had done was the best that could be done, and on that foundation to fecure its permanency. Naturally mild and open, he was free of access to all; and confident both in the goodness of his cause, and in Plut. Sohis own powers of argument and perfuafion, he lon. incouraged conversation upon his institutions

commonly of not more than four men. See Arrian. Tact. p. 20. Xenophon also seems to use the word λόχος for a file (4). Yet Euripides gives the title of Aoxayo; to the feven chiefs before Thebes, and of Abyos to the division which each commanded, and to the opposing divisions of the Theban army. Phoenis. v. 124, 150, 759, 760, and 1157. Xenophon also, in his anabasis, uses the terms Aoxor and Aoxayos in the Lacedæmonian sense, or nearly fo. The Aoxayol were next in rank to the Erpalayol, generals. The force of the x6x0c, in an army fo irregularly composed, might differ greatly. We find in one place a hundred (5), and in another only fifty (6), men mentioned as actually composing the Lochus, but we are not assured that those numbers were the complement.

(4) Cyrop. l. 4. (5) Anab. l. 4. c. 8. f. 13. (6) l. 1. c. 2. f. ag. VOL. I.

CHAP. and discussion of their merit; always professing willingness to alter whatsoever could be clearly proved capable of amendment. But he foon found that he had thus ingaged in an endless business. At the same time, therefore, to deliver himself from the wearying importunity of others, to give a relaxation to his mind which it wanted, and to afford means to his great work of fettling into firmness, he determined to travel; and fuch was his influence, he procured a promife folemnly confirmed by oath from all the people, that they would change nothing of his in-Timzum, stitutions for ten years. With such a trial, he faid, there would be competent experience of their advantages and disadvantages; and whatever alterations were wanting, might then be made with greater certainty of altering for the better. Having effected this he left Athens.

Herodot. 1. I. C. 29. Proclus in

> Solon was fo superior in general interest and influence among his fellowcountrymen, that while he remained, no other could hope for any comparable confideration. But in all governments there must be leaders; in popular governments there will be parties; and if honest men want either abilities or activity to put themselves forward, the dishonest will not be backward. Soon after the departure of Solon the three parties of the lowlands, the highlands, and the coast, began to reappear. These were in fact the party of the rich, who wanted to hold all political power in their own hands, and keep the lower people in absolute subjection, as now in the Venetian and Genoese republics; the demo

democratical party, who, with great zeal for SECT. equality, were the readiest instruments of defpotifm; and the party of fenfible and moderate men, who, tho weaker than either of the others. were capable of holding the balance between them. This party derived great support from the powerful family of the Alemaonids; of Herod. 1. whom Megacles, now the chief, had greatly & 1. 6. c. increased the antient wealth and splendor of his 126. & seq. house by marrying Agariste, daughter and heirefs of Cleisthenes tyrant of Sicyon; and he Pindar. had acquired fame by victories in the Olym- Pyth. 7. pian, Pythian, and Ishmian games. At the head of the oligarchal party was Lycurgus fon of Aristolaïdes. The democratical was principally influenced by Peifistratus, a young man of a very antient and honorable family, claim- Herodot. ing descent from Codrus, and through him tra- 1. 5. c. 65. cing their pedigree to Nestor and the Pylian kings of that very early age where Homer first takes up history. To extraordinary abilities and a daring spirit Peisistratus added the most ingaging manners; and he had diftinguished himself in several military enterprizes, particularly in taking Nifæa, the feaport of the Me-Herodot. garians.

When Solon, after an absence of ten years, Plutarch. returned to Athens, these parties divided the Laert vit. whole people. Immediately the legislator in- Solon. formed himself of the state of affairs, conversed with the chiefs, and endeavoured to moderate the spirit of opposition, both in them and in their followers. But already prejudices for the

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CHAP. principles of their feveral factions were become rooted, and attachment to their leaders another felf-intereft. Solon, now very old, was less able to direct the helm of government in a ftorm: the leaders of the factions continued their opposition; and at length Peisisfratus, by an artifice, became master of the commonwealth. Wounding himfelf and his mules, he drove his chariot violently into the agora, and pretended that, as he was going into the country, he had been waylaid. In a pathetic fpeech. for he was a most able orator, he told the people, It was for being their declared friend he thus fuffered. They faw it was no longer fafe for a man to be a friend to the poor; they faw it was no longer fafe for him to live in Attica, unless they would take him under 'that protection which he implored.' Immediately Ariston, one of his partizans, proposed to decree to the friend of the people, the martyr of their cause, a guard of fifty men for the fecurity of his person; and so great was his popularity, and fuch the indignation excited by the visible marks of ill-treatment which he bore, the decree was instantly passed; in spite it is faid of the opposition of Solon, who used his utmost endeavours to prevent it. Such is the story which has obtained. But it has come from the enemies of the family of Peififtratus; and it feems at least equally probable that the attempt upon his life was real. We feem indeed warranted in this conjecture by the very accounts which speak of it as fictitious, For

Herodot. l. 1. c. 59. Plut. v. Solon. Justin. 1. 2. C. 8.

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For those accounts testify that the belief of a SECT. real attempt to affaffinate him prevailed at Athens for a confiderable time: we are not informed how the fraud was detected; and had there ever been any detection of fuch groß knavery, it must have gone far to ruin the credit of Peifistratus, which, during his life, certainly never was ruined. But an actual attempt of fuch a kind could not fail to increase, if not the extent of his popularity, at least the zeal of his party; and thus the decree for guards might be obtained, even in opposition to the remonstrances of Solon, in a manner. more confistent with the forms of the Athenian constitution, and with probability, than the defective accounts of the Greek historians seem to imply. On this point however we can only

The term Tyrant, among the Greeks, had a Corn. very different fignification from what it bears Miltiad. in modern languages: it meant a citizen of a republic, who, by any means acquired fovereinty over his fellowcitizens. Many of the Grecian Tyrants were men of extraordinary virtue, who used their power in strict confor-

henceforward he is called by historians Tyrant

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chuse our belief in the dark. What stands ascertained is, that Peisistratus with his guards feized the citadel; that his party still supported him; and that their opponents were forced, part into exile, the rest to submission. Peififtratus, as leader of the prevailing party, was of course the first man of the commonwealth, and

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Solon. Vid. et Ariftot. Polital. 3 Sophoe. Oedip. Tyr. v. 1, 93, 391,. & 543.

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CHAP, mity to established law, and very advantageously for the people they governed. Thus they differed widely from Tyrants in the modern acceptation of the word. But some even were raifed to the dignity of Tyrant by a voluntary Plut. vit. decree of the people themselves. mentions particularly Tynnondas thus elected by the Eubœans, and Pittacus by the Mitylec. 14. et l. næans; and he fays the Athenians would fo 5. c. 10. et have elected Solon. Usurper, therefore, is not a convertible term: tho in general the Grecian tyrants were usurpers. Without a favoring Party among the people, no man could rife to the tyranny: therefore a man of universal bad character, could not become a tyrant 19. But the violence of faction among the Greeks was extreme : enormous feverities were frequently practifed against a defeated party: perhaps most enormous when the party prevailing was not headed by a tyrant, whose authority or influence might inable him, and whose very interest would generally induce him, to restrain private malice, and check popular fury. A citizen; however, irregularly raifed to fovereinty over his fellowcitizens, would often find himfelf very infecure in his exaltation. Popular favor. and party favor, which is a more confined popular favor, are extremely liable to fluctuate. But firmness is necessary to command; and

> 19 'Αρ' δυχὶ μῶρόν ἐςι τ' δυγχειρημά σου, "Ανευ τε πλήθους και φίλων τυραννίδα Θηράν, ὁ πλήθει χρήμασίν θ' ἀλίσκεται; Sophoc. Oedip. Tyr. v. \$50.

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even great abilities, united with fortunate cir- SECT. cumftances, would with difficulty, in such a fituation, avoid the necessity of occasional feverity; weak minds and morofe tempers would naturally fall into cruelty. The outcry against Tyrants, then, has been first raised by the difappointment of faction; for among the antients the appellation was arbitrarily applied; the person to whom it was given being often really no more than the leader of a party; and fometimes, as we have just seen, a soverein by the best of all rights, the voice of the people. But most commonly Tyrants were more or less usurpers of power which the laws of their country forbad; and too frequently feverities were used, fometimes atrocious crimes perpetrated, to acquire that power, or to retain it. Hence alone the modern acceptation of the term Tyrant, from which it is necessary to diftinguish the antient.

It is expressly faid by Herodotus, and con- Herodot. firmed by all fucceeding writers, that Peifistra- 1. 1. c. 59. tus changed nothing in the Athenian constitu-lon. tion. All the laws continued in force: the affembly, council, courts of justice, and all the magistracies remained with their constitutional powers; he himself obeyed a citation from the Aristot. Areiopagus on a charge of murder. We are Polit. 1. 5. not affured that he even retained his guards; Plut. Sobut it appears probable. It was usual for those lon. called Tyrants among the Greeks to have guards; and the diftinguishing name of doryphori, spearbearers, became attached to them,

Ariftot. Polit. l. 5.

C. 12.

CHAP. as that of toxotæ, bowmen, to the armed attendants of the regular magistrates. But even this was not a necessary characteristic; for in the preceding age, Cypfelus, who was notwithstanding always termed Tyrant of Corinth, fo intirely trusted in the affection of his fellowcitizens that he never would have guards. It appears not how fuch a Tyrant differs, but in title, from those patriots of succeeding times, whose abilities and virtues placed them at the head of a commonwealth, without any fuch invidious appellation. Perhaps, however, they have also thus far generally differed in fortune, that the history of the latter has been transmitted to posterity by those of the same faction, that of the former by those of the opposite faction 20.

Plut. Solon:

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Peifistratus was by every account a man fingularly formed for empire. Solon himself is reported to have faid of him, ' Take away only

20 Even Aristotle is scarcely always consistent in applying the term Tyrant. In one part of his treatife on government (1) he observes that a guard is proper both to legal kings and to tyrants; and he mentions it as a characteristical distinction between the two, that kings had subjects for guards, tyrants foreiners. "Yet in the fame treatife (2) he calls Cypfelus Tyrant of Corinth, tho, he tells us, Cypfelus never would have any guard. It appears clearly that Cypfelus in fact was a demagogue, and never properly a Tyrant. But the party in opposition to his family prevailing at length against his grandson, it became popular at Corinth to give the title of Tyrant to Cypselus himself. We find also that the bowmen attending the regular magistrates of the Athenian commonwealth were commonly foreiners, frequently Scythians. See Potter, b. 1. c. 13. artached to riven.

(1) b. 3. c. 14. (2) b. 5. c. 12.

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his ambition; cure him of his luft of reign- SECT.

ing, and there is not a man more naturally

disposed to every virtue, nor a better citizen. We have however no fatisfactory account of the conduct of the great lawgiver upon this important occasion; party-spirit having mutilated and deformed the traditions of these transactions. It became the temper of fucceeding times to brand the memory of Peifistratus; but the character of Solon was not to be involved in the reproach. It was therefore necessary to account for his want of authority and influence for preventing the usurpation, and to apologize for his acquiescence under it; neither of which has been adequately done. Plutarch relates Plut. & fome anecdotes very much to the credit of his Diog. fpirit, but very little to that of his wifdom, Solon. and the influence which should have attended it: for the Athenians, it feems, were fo fatiffied with Peifistratus, that they utterly difregarded all their venerable legislator's remonstrances. His friends arguing with him, we are told, upon his imprudent freedom of speech upon all occasions, and asking to what he trusted for fecurity against the vengeance of the tyrant, ' To my old age,' he replied. But it was by other arts than those of iniquitous revenge and cruel precaution that Peifistratus proposed to fecure, as he had acquired his preëminence. Indeed what Plutarch himself proceeds to relate, explains, in a great degree, what partyspirit had inveloped in contradiction and obcurity. Far from refenting any freedom in Solon's

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Solon's

CHAP. Solon's conduct, Peifistratus treated him with the highest respect. Nor did the venerable sage: the unblemished patriot, refuse the tyrant's friendship; but on the contrary lived with him in familiarity, and affifted him in the administration of the commonwealth. This is Plutarch's testimony. Diogenes Laertius, indeed, fays that Solon, having long braved the tyrant's vengeance, finding the Athenians fo loft to all fense of honor that his utmost efforts could not excite them to attempt the recovery of their freedom, left Athens, and never returned more. He even gives letters faid to have passed between the legislator and the tyrant. His account however does not bear the appearance of probability. If the letters were known to Plutarch, he despised them as forgeries; but, were they genuine, they would confirm the concurrent testimony of all antiquity to the excellence of the character of Peifistratus, and his unblameable conduct in the administration of his country's affairs.

We are not informed at what time the Athenians recovered Salamis after its fecond revolt to the Megarians. That Solon retook it when he was a young man, and long before he was appointed legislator, seems agreed among hiftorians, differing as they do about other circumstances of these times. But many attribute the retaking of it to Peifistratus with Solon. This could hardly have been when Solon was a young man, nor before his legislation. have only conjecture for supposing that it might

have

have been after the establishment of Peisistratus SECT.

in what is called his tyranny.

Plutarch reports that Solon died at the age of eighty, about two years after the elevation of Peifistratus. That asurper, if he was such, Herod. 1. fell foon after from his high fituation; expelled by the united strength of Megacles and Lycurgus. This appears fresh proof in favor of Peififtratus. He flourished and injoyed Solon's friendship while Solon lived: when he had lost that excellent man's fupport, his opponents acquired the superiority. But the confederate rivals could not long agree. Megacles fent proposals of reconciliation to Peisistratus; and, at the same time to evince his sincerity and to infure permanence of union, offered him his daughter in marriage. Peifistratus accepted the condition. But a majority in the Athenian affembly must be procured to favor their views, or all their private compacts would be vain. The account given by Herodotus of the manner in which this was effected is among the strangest in all history; yet that historian lived fo nearly within memory of the event, the story is fo little flattering to any, and the circumstances were of fo public a nature, that, tho party prejudice is likely enough to have difguised it, we scarcely can suppose it wholly unfounded. Indeed Herodotus himfelf calls it the simplest trick he ever heard of: yet it appears that many antient writers gave it credit, and, fuch as it is related to us, it might be not unaccommodated to the prejudices, the imagi-

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CHAP. nation, and the disposition of those on whom the united chiefs meant to work. They found. we are told, a woman of the Pæänian borough, named Phya, far exceeding common fize: of low birth, and by occupation a garland-feller: but, with her extraordinary stature, well-proportioned and handsome. This woman they dreffed in a complete fuit of armour, with every ornament that could add grace and fplendor to a fine natural figure; and feating her in a magnificent chariot, they drove into the city, heralds preceding, who proclaimed, 'O Athenians, with willing minds receive Peifistratus, whom Minerva, honoring above all men, herfelf conducts into your citadel. The people, adds the historian, believed the woman to be the goddess, and worshipped her, and received Peifistratus, who thus recovered the tyranny.

It has been supposed by some that Strabo held the authority of Herodotus for nothing: and the treatife remains which Plutarch composed purposely to depreciate his credit. Strabo's expression has been alledged to prove very much more than it meant: the geographer follows and confirms Herodotus in numberless instances; and Plutarch's treatife tends strongly to prove him impartial without proving him in any instance false. The whole tenor, indeed, of Herodotus's narration shows him a man of great curiofity, but great modesty, and perfect honesty. Doubtful of his own opinion, and scrupulously cautious of misleading others, he thinks thinks it his duty to relate all reports, but with SECT. express and repeated warning to his readers to use their own judgement for determining their belief 21. Hence indeed his authority is fometimes hazardous. But generally the fimplicity of his manner detects itself, and, with the affiftance of circumstances collateral to the flory, fufficiently indicates where he deferves credit, and where neglect 22. The public nature of the facts may be a degree of testimony to the strange story just related. Consonance to the characters of persons concerned will form an additional test. Both are totally wanting to the account which Herodotus proceeds to give of a domestic quarrel faid to have occasioned the second expulsion of Peisistratus. No more therefore feems afcertained upon sufficient hiftorical evidence than that Peisistratus did retire to Eretria in Eubœa; leaving the Alcmæonids, fo the partizans of Megacles were called, mafters of Athens.

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^{*1} Τοῦσι μίν τοι ἐπ' 'Αιγυπθίων λεγομένοισι χράσθω ὅτεψ τὰ τοιαϊθα
πθαιά ἐτι' ἐμοὶ δὶ παρὰ φάνθα τὸι λόγοι ὑπόκειται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα
ἐπ' ἐκάτων ἀκοῦ γράφω. Herodot. l. 2. C. 123.

Εγὰ δι ὀφίιλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, σύιθεσθάι γεμόν δυ σαντάπασι ἐφίιλω· καὶ μοι τῶτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς σὰντα τὸν λόγον.

Herodot. 1. 7. c. 152.

The historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire has characterized Herodotus with his usual liveliness of expression: 'Herodotus,' he says, 's sometimes writes for children, and fometimes for philosophers (1).' It is really the simplicity of Herodotus that makes him often unsit for children. He has sew pages from which the philosopher may not profit.

⁽¹⁾ Chap. 34. note 52.

CHAP.

But even in banishment the consideration and influence of Peifistratus were great. He received prefents and loans to a large amount from the states with which he had formed an interest during his administration of Athens, He continued to strengthen these connections: and at length affembled a military force with which, in the eleventh year of this his fecond banishment, he returned into Attica. Immediately he made himself master of Marathon. Hither his remaining partizans in Athens flocked to his standard; together with many other Athenians who, according to Herodotus's expression, 'preferred tyranny to liberty ";' that is, it should feem, those to whom that called, by the opposite faction, the tyranny of Peisistratus, would give freedom, whereas the administration of the Alcmæonids was real tyranny to them; for in no other acceptation does the expression appear intelligible. The Alcmaonids, after fome imprudent delay, led an army from the city. But it was ill disciplined and ill commanded. Peifistratus attacked them by furprize. The rout was immediate. With his usual presence of mind, and with a humanity the more admirable as it was then uncommon. Peifistratus immediately stopped the slaughter; and fending fome horse after the fugitives, proclaimed that, 'None need fear who would go quietly to their homes: Peisistratus promised ' fafety to their persons and property.' The

Herodot. L. z. c. 62.

known

²³ Occus i roparels wed ldevoluting in domarbrepos.

known clemency and honor of the chief pro- SECT. cured general obedience to the proclamation: the principal Alcmæonids fled; and Peifistratus entered Athens unopposed.

It does not appear that even now any fundamental change was made in the Athenian constitution, or any unwarrantable step taken to fecure the leader's power. As head of the prevailing party he had of course the principal influence in the government. His abilities might have given him that preëminence in any free state. A particular interest with the ruling parties in feveral neighbouring states, especi- Herodot. ally Thebes and Argos, and a wife and liberal 1. 1. c. 61. use of a very great private property, were the refources in which he befides mostly confided. Some measures were necessary to insure peaceable demeanor from those partizans of the Alcmæonids who had not fled. None, however, were injured in their perfons; their children only were kept as hostages, and themselves sent to inhabit the iland of Naxus. This may appear arbitrary; but if compared with what we shall hereafter find usual in revolutions of Grecian cities, it was fingularly mild: it was in short the resource of a party-chief, liberal and humane as experienced and clearfighted, to infure political quiet with the least possible severity. Lygdamis, a Naxian, banished from his iland, one of the most populous and wealthy of the Ægean fea, had led a confiderable body of the party banished with him, to affift Peifistratus in reëstablishing

Herodot.

1. 5. c. 94,

95-

CHAP, his party in Athens. Peifistratus requited the benefit by affifting Lygdamis to reëstablish himself in Naxus. The detention of the children of the Alcmæonid party then in Athens while the fathers were fent to Naxus, gave fecurity for the quiet of both governments.

After these first measures for insuring public peace, the administration of Peisistratus was uniformly mild and beneficial. Of his forein transactions the most important recorded was the establishment of an Athenian colony at Sigeium on the Hellespont, and a war which followed with the Mitylenæans of Lesbos, who claimed the territory. It was upon occasion of a victory gained by the Athenians in this war. that the poet Alcæus, a principal citizen and head of a faction at Mitylenë, incurred the difgrace of quitting his arms for quicker flight. These spoils were, by the conquering Athenians, fuspended as a trophy in the temple of Minerva at Sigeium.

The domestic administration of Peisistratus is univerfally eulogized. Many anecdotes are preferved very highly to the advantage of his character. His mildness, patience, and forbearance, were not less remarkable than his ability, activity, and intrepidity. His kindness to the poor and diffressed was not a dissembled virtue, assumed for the advancement of his ambitious views, but conspicuous through his life. Many

of his laws and regulations, highly advanta-

geous to his country, became a part of its con-

stitution. Finding an increasing disposition in

Plut. v. Solon. & Apophth. Diog. Laert. v Solon. & al. ap. Jo. Meurf, in Pifift.

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the Athenians to neglect rural employments and SECT. crowd into the city, he took every method to discourage this, and promote agriculture; giving liberally from his private property; especially if by the same act he could reward merit or relieve diffress. The laws against idleness; attributed by fome to Solon, are also ascribed to Peifistratus. The law decreeing a public provision for the wounded in their country's fervice, is referred to him alone. He was eminent for love of learning and the fine arts. He is faid to have founded the first public library known in the world; and the first complete collection and digestion of Homer's poems is by Cicero attributed to him. Cicero also speaks De Orat. of his eloquence in the highest terms; as the & Brutus, first model of that sublime and polished rhetoric, in which, as in most other arts, Greece has been mistress of the world. The Peisistratus discouraged that increasing population of the capital which was hurtful to the country, yet he improved the city, and adorned it with folendid public buildings. He is faid to have been the first who ever laid out a garden for public ufe. He continued to direct the administration of Athens with great wisdom, and with the esteem of all men, during life, and, at an advanced age, he died in peace.

Whatfoever the authority of Peifistratus was in the Athenian state, by whatsoever means fupported, and in whatfoever way exerted, it appears certain that he never assumed the tone of royalty. On his death his influence de-VOL. I. H h fcended

Thucyd.

& 1. 6. c.

parch.

54.

CHAP. scended to sons worthy of such a father: but so intirely was the administration of the republic still conducted according to the forms prescribed by the constitution, that, when afterward it became popular at Athens to call Peifistratus and his fucceffors kings and tyrants, no one public act recorded who was his fucceffor. Herodotus, who lived within memory of his cotemporaries, mentions Hippias and Hipparchus as fons of Peifistratus, without faying which was the elder or the fuperior. The accurate Thucydides, a few years only later, inl. 1. c, 20. forms us that common report in his time made Hipparchus the fuccessor; but erroneously, he fays, for Hippias was the elder: yet, shortly Plat. Hip- after, Plato, concurring with that common report which Thucydides had judged erroneous, calls Hipparchus the elder. However this might be, those brothers had certainly together the principal influence in the administration of Athens. Heads of the prevailing party, their friends only could obtain the principal magi-

Plat. Hip- than that of Plato, as one of the most perfect in parch. Ælian.

Var. Hift. 1. 8. c. 2.

24 Τὰ δὶ ἀλλα ἀυτή ἡ πόλις τοις κειμένοις ἐχρῆτο, πλήν καθόσον केंडो राम्बे देम्पार्थ राज्य किया केंडी का देन रहाई बेह्न होड़ देंडिका.

history. Such were his virtues, his abilities,

stracies 24. But that power which the favor of) their party gave them they used very advantageoully for the public, and without asperity toward their opponents. The character of Hipparchus is transmitted to us, on no less authority

Thucyd. 1. 4. c. 54.

and his diligence, that the philosopher does SECT. not scruple to fay the period of his administration was like another golden age. He was in the highest degree a friend to learning and learned men. The collection and digestion of Homer's works, by others ascribed to his father, is by Plato attributed to him. Hipparchus, however, introduced them more generally to the knowlege of the Athenians, by directing that a public recital of them should always make a part of the entertainment at the Panathenæan festival. He invited the poets Anacreon of Teos, and Simonides of Ceos, to Athens, and liberally maintained them there. Defirous of diffusing instruction as widely as possible among his fellowcountrymen, while books were yet few, and copies not eafily multiplied, he caused marble terms of Mercury, Plat. Hipwith short moral sentences ingraved on the parch. fides, to be erected in the streets and principal highways throughout Attica. Such are the anecdotes remaining of Hipparchus. Hippias was at the same time beneficially active in public business. He improved the public revenue. Under his fuperintendancy the money of Attica was called in and recoined. He was author of a law allowing compositions in money for various burthensome offices, which before none could avoid. He profecuted the improvements of the city begun by his father. Attic taste in every branch appears to have had its rife principally under the Peifistratids. The adminifration of the commonwealth was at the same

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time

CHAP. time conducted, in peace, and in war, happily at home and honorably abroad; and, according to the remarkable expression of the able and impartial Thucydides, 'Those tyrants singuflarly cultivated wifdom and virtue 231'

Thucyd. 1. 6. c. 54

Plat. Hipparch. Aristot. Polit. 1. 5. c. 10. Justin, 1.

2. c. g.

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OI. 64.4. B. C. 512. Dodw. Ann. Thucyd.

The circumstances which produced the death of Hipparchus, the expulsion of his family, and a number of great events, are, as common in conspiracies, wrapt in inexplicable mystery. The account given by Thucydides, utterly abhorrent as it is from our manners, was, we must fuppose, not inconsistent with those of Athens; vet did not fatisfy Plato, who relates a different flory. Succeeding writers have differed from both. But there is one circumstance, of principal historical consequence, in which all agree: it was private revenge, and not any political motive, that induced Ariftogeiton and Harmodius, two Athenians of middle rank, to confpire the death of Hippias and Hipparchus. For the time of executing their intention they chose the festival of Panathenæa; because, part of the ceremony confifting in a procession of armed citizens, they could then go armed without exciting fuspicion. They ingaged few in their plot: nothing remains from which to fuppose they had any object beyond killing the two brothers; and even for this their measures appear to have been ill concerted. Their first attempt was intended against Hippias, while

[🎋] Emerodevous eminatisos da respussos curos aperas nal géneros. Thucyd. 1. 4. c. 54. he

he was directing the ceremony in the Ceramei SECT. cus, a place in the suburbs: but, as they approached, they faw one of their fellow-confpirators familiarly converfing with him; for, fays Thucydides, Hippias was eafy of access to all 26. This gave a suspicion that they were betrayed; upon which they fuddenly resolved to go against Hipparchus, who was superintending in the Leocorion, within the citywalls. There they fo far fucceeded as to kill Hipparchus; but Harmodius was also killed on the fpot. Aristogeiton escaped the guards who attended Hipparchus, but, being taken by the people, was not mildly treated. Such is Thucydides's expression 27,

Now it was, according to the testimony which Plato has delivered in very pointed terms, that the tyranny properly began 36. An- Thucyd. ger at fo atrocious a deed, together with uncer- 1.6. c. 59. tainty from what quarter he might have next to fear, led Hippias immediately to feverities. Many Athenians were put to death. And, this change of conduct once made, to revert to

²⁶ H. di nãou iuneboodos à Innias. Thucyd. l. 6. c. 57.

¹⁷ Ou gading deriffe. The stories told by later writers, Seneca, Polyænus, Justin, and others, both of Aristogeiton, and of his mistress Lezna, are totally destitute of that testimony which we might expect from author's nearly cotemporary. Indeed it feems not too much to affert that they are evidently fables. See Paufanias, b. 1. c. 23.

²⁸ Kai πάντων αι των παλαιών ήκουσας ότι τάυτα μόνα τὰ (τρία) τη τυρακιίς ἐγένετο ἐς 'Αθήναις' τον δ' άλλον χρόνον ἐγγὸς τι ἔζων 'Αθαvaiss ware ivi Keose Baoulivoiles. Plat. Hipparch. Herodotus and Thucydides had before borne nearly the fame testimony, tho in less emphatical language.

CHAP.

the former course was not a matter of option. Other support than the love of his fellowcountrymen became necessary, not meerly to the power, but even to the personal safety of Hippias. Looking around, therefore, for means of improving his connections among forein states, he married his only daughter to Æantides, fon of Hippocles tyrant of Lampfacus, who had intercourse with the Persian court, and confiderable interest there. The epitaph on her monument in Lampfacus, recorded by Thucydides, and remarkable for an elegant fimplicity of panegyric, not totally lost even in a literal profe translation, proves how little the title of tyrant was then a term of reproach: 'This dust,' it says, 'covers Archedice, daughter of Hippias, in his time the first of the Greeks. Daughter, fifter, wife, and mother of Tyrants, her mind was never elated to 'arrogance,'

Herodot. 1. 5. c. 62. The Alcmæonids, ejected by Peifistratus, were numerous and wealthy. Under these generic names the Greek writers include, with the family, often all the partizans of the family. They had settled themselves at Lipsydrium above Pæonia 29, so Herodotus describes the place, and had sortissed it. But their hopes did not rest there: they were unceasingly watchful for opportunities to recover Athens. With

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²⁹ It feems probable enough that the learned and ingenious, but strangely arrogant and petulant critic Pauw, who distains discussion and quotation, and scruples no affertion that he fancies may be right in his conjecture, that for Pæonia should be red Pæania, which was the name of an Attic borough.

this object in view, they omitted no means of SECT. preserving and increasing their consideration among the Grecian states. It happened that the temple of Delphi was burnt. The Am- Herodot. phictyons of course were to provide for the re- pindar. building of it. The Alcmæonids offered for a Pyth. 7. certain fum to undertake the work. A contract was in consequence made with them, by which they were bound to erect a temple, according to a plan agreed upon, of Porine stone. It was, doubtless, a very defirable circumstance for an exiled family, objects of perfecution to the rulers of a powerful state, thus to become connected with fo respectable a body as the Amphictyons. But they used the opportunity to make all Greece in a manner their debtors. and even to involve the divinity of the place in obligation to them, by exceeding their contract in the fumptuousness of the execution, particularly by building the whole front of the temple of Parian marble. Another advantage, Herodot. however, of still greater importance, they de- 1.5. c. 63. rived, as common report went in Herodotus's time, from ingaging in this business. They found means to corrupt the managers of the oracle; in confequence of which, whenever application, public or private, was made from Lacedæmon to the god of Delphi, the answer constantly concluded with an admonition to the Lacedæmonians to give liberty to Athens.

This artifice at length had the defired effect. Tho Lacedæmon was in particular alliance with the Peisistratids, and bound to them by the fa-

cred

CHAP. cred ties of hospitality, it was determined to invade Attica. A small force only was first fent under Anchimolius. It was defeated, and the commander flain. But the Alcmæonid party was gaining strength: the severities of Hippias drove numbers to join them; and the Lacedæmonians, irritated by their lofs and difgrace, prepared earnestly for revenge. They fent a larger army into Attica under their king Cleomenes. It was joined by the Alcmæonids.

Myft.p.53

Andoc. de A battle was fought at Pallenium, where the tyrants were defeated, and fiege was laid to Athens. Little hope however was entertained of taking the city by force, but fome expectation was founded on intrigue. This also Hippias and his principal partizans dreaded, and therefore fent their children out of the garrison Ol.67.3. to be conveyed to a place of fafety. They fell

509.

into the enemy's hands; and the fathers, un-Ann. Thue. able by any other means to fave them, confented to furrender Athens and leave its terri-Herodot. tory in five days. Hippias retired to Sigeium 1.5. c. 65. on the Hellespont, which was under the government of Hegefistratus, his natural brother, who had been established there by Peisistratus.

& 94. Thucyd. 1. 6. c. 58.

The Lacedæmonians were at this time by far the first people of Greece. Bound by their fingular laws to a kind of monkish poverty, Polyb.1.6. their ambition was unbounded. Mafters of Messenia by conquest, allied from of old with Ifocr. Pa- Corinth, and, as the more powerful state, always taking the lead in the league, they in a great degree commanded Peloponnefus. Still they

P. 492.

nathen. p. 454, &c. 490. t. 2. ed. Par. Auger.

they watched every opportunity to extend their SECT. power. Whenever the Grecian states had war with one another, or fedition within themselves, the Lacedæmonians were ready to interfere as mediators. Generally they conducted the bufiness wisely, and with great appearance of moderation; but always having in view to extend the authority, or at least the influence of their state. One measure which they constantly practifed for this purpose was to favor aristocratical power; or rather, wherever they could, Ifocr. Pa-nathen. p. to establish an oligarchy: for in almost every 460. t. 2. Grecian city there was an aristocratical or oligarchal, and a democratical faction; and a few chiefs indebted to Lacedæmon for their fituation, and generally unable to retain it without her affiftance, would be the readiest instruments for holding their state in what, tho termed alliance, was always a degree of subjection.

This policy it was proposed to follow at Athens; and the strife of factions, which quickly arose there, gave great opportunity. By the late revolution, Cleisthenes, fon of Megacles, head of the Alcmæonids, was of course the first person of the commonwealth. But he was a man not of those superior abilities necessary to hold the fway in a turbulent democracy. A party was foon formed against him under Ifago- Herodot. ras, with whom most of the principal Athenians 1.5. c. 66, fided. The resource of Cleisthenes was therefore among the lower people. Thefe being allpowerful in the general affembly, by their means he made fome alterations in the confti-VOL. I. tution,

CHAP. tution, favorable to his own influence: particularly he divided anew the Athenian territory and people; instead of four, making the number of tribes ten, to which he gave intirely new names. It appears from Herodotus that Cleifthenes was at this time not less tyrant of Athens than Peifistratus had been. His power was equal, but his moderation was not equal 39. In the contests of Grecian factions the alternative was commonly victory, or exile, and fometimes death. We must not wonder therefore, if the inferior party fometimes reforted to very harsh expedients. Isagoras and his adherents applied to Lacedæmon. Cleomenes, violent in his temper, but of confiderable abilities, had more influence in the administration of his country than its kings always possessed. Immediately entering into the interest of Isagoras,

1. 5. 6.170.

molly

39 'Ως γας δη τον Αθηνάμου δήμου, σεότιρου απωσμένου, νότε σάντα σεός την εωύτου μόνεην σεοσεθήκατο, τὰς Φυλάς μετανόμασε, κάι έποίησι πλευιας εξ ελασσότων, κ. τ. ε, ήν τι τὸν δήμον προσθέμενος πολλώ นลาย์ทเอง เพีย ลังระเรลอเพาโพร. Herodot. 1. 5. c. 69. This honest passage gives great insight into the state of party-politics at Athens at the time, and affords a material part of the clue necesfary for tracing them through following times. It is remarkably to the credit of Herodotus, and extraordinary that it should have been fo little noticed, or rather fo totally unnoticed, by writers who have criticized him, that whatever he has faid upon that delicate and difficult subject the domestic politics of Athens. and indeed of all Greece, is perfectly confonant to the unqueftionable authority of Thucydides. The two writers mutually reflect light upon one another: Herodotus opens the fcene; and whoever will take the pains to connect his defultory yet amufing narration, will find him no unworthy forerunner of Thucydides and Xenophon, who with more art and judgement lead us to the catastrophe, ic made fone al

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he fent a herald to Athens, by whom he imperiously decreed banishment against Cleisthe nes and others of the Alcmæonids, on the old pretence of inherited criminality from the facrilegious execution of the partizans of Cylon. Cleifthenes obeyed the decree. Incouraged by fuch proof of the respect or dread in which the Spartan power was held, Cleomenes thought the feafon favorable for making that change in the Athenian Constitution which would fuit the views of Spartan ambition. He went to Athens, attended by a small military force, and at once banished seven hundred families. Such was at this time Athenian liberty. He was then proceeding to dissolve the council of five Hendor hundred, and to commit the whole power of 1. 5. c. 72. the commonwealth to a new council confisting 1.1. c.126 of three hundred, all partizans of Isagoras. But Athens was not fo far prepared for fubjection. The five hundred both refused themfelves to fabruit, and excited the people to opposition. The people ran to arms. Cleomenes Herodot. and Isagoras, taking refuge in the citadel, were & Thucyd. ut besieged there two days. On the third they sup. & furrendered upon condition that the Lacedæ- Ariftoph, Lyfift, v. monians might depart in fafety. Isagoras went 273. with them; but many Athenians of his party were executed. Cleisthenes and the exiled families immediately returned.

Those who now took the lead in the Athenian government, tho without opposition at home, were in extreme apprehension of the confequences of fuch a breach with LacedæHerodot. 1. s. c. 73.

mon. At a loss for allies within Greece capable of giving them effectual support, they fent ambaffadors to Sardis to endeavour to form a connexion with Artaphernes the Perfian fatrap. Hitherto there had been scarcely any communication between any branch of the vast empire of Persia and the European Greeks. The fatrap received the deputies of a little unheard-of republic with that haughtiness which might be expected. Having admitted them to audience. he asked who they were, and from what part of the world they came, that they defired alliance with the Persians?. Being informed, he answered them very shortly, That if they would give earth and water to king Darius, the usual ceremony in acknowleging subjection, they might be received into alliance; otherwise they must depart. The ambassadors, considering only the immediate danger of their country, confented to those humiliating terms. Such was the first public transaction between Johns Greece and Perfia.or ner slagio on T



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